IT'S NO PIPEDREAM

Trade with New China could mean 1,200,000 more jobs in America

Page 4

Real state of the union

Here's the message Truman might have read to Congress

Last Wednesday President Harry S. Truman delivered to the reopening Congress a State of the Union message in which, as columnist Walter Lippmann wrote, "nothing is explained, nothing argued, nothing proved, nothing demonstrated." Of the real State of the Union as the people see and know it, he said nothing. As the best possible comment on the speech, the GUARDIAN here presents a revised version showing what the President MIGHT have said, had he filled out his airy generalizations with the facts.

A YEAR ago I reported to this Congress that the State of the Union was good—at least for the Democratic Administration. I am happy to be able to report to you today that the State of the Union continues to be as good now as then for the Democratic Administration. This has been achieved through Republican acquiescence in the formation of our foreign and military spending policies and their domestic counterpart, the Warfare State.

The state of our foreign policy

Under my Administration, for the first time in the history of the U.S., a predecessor's liberal slogans and promises have been turned to the use of the responsible owners of the nation's wealth despite their apparent opposition. By the expenditure in three years of over $24,000,000,000 of our taxpayers' money for production of arms and strengthening of private American capital's control of world markets, we have maintained and surpassed our wartime production, kept our factories going, tamed and harnessed our trade unions and slowed down an oncoming depression.

Our objective in the world is peace—not peace at any price, but a peace which establishes law and order wherever popular unrest threatens and which consolidates or returns to power those governments which, like ours, derive their strength from the support of revived free private enterprise.

To this end we have restored by our arms and funds the plutocracy in Greece, strengthened the one-party government of Turkey, revived and put back on their feet the great corporations and cartels of Germany and, with similar intentions, supplied over $3,000,000,000 of American money to the now-exiled Chiang government of China.

The state of Europe

In western Europe our policies have succeeded in curbing the socialist experiments of England's Labor government, and of thoroughly grounding that once expansive empire. Its markets are now ours to be exploited at will and in our own good time. Its once world-dominant sterling is now subsidiary to our dollar.

In France, Belgium, Germany, Italy and Austria we have restored to power those political parties which before World War II and the advent of Nazism and Fascism proved most capable of maintaining the dominance of private enterprise in the councils of governments.

We found everywhere, in these countries which were still salvageable from socialism, that a judicious governmental combination of Catholic clericalism, the landed gentry and cartelized capital produces the most favorable climate for law and order—given our arms and our financial support.

Once we have established these guarantees we have everywhere encouraged free elections within their framework and guaranteed their orderly conduct with our surplus war equipment.

Ready, aye, ready!

Throughout the world, in hundreds of atolls, islands, peninsulas and ports on the borders of Russia and China, in the Philippines and in the heart of Japan, we have built up our air and naval bases for defense against any possible sudden attack against the U. S. by a world aggressor.

At the same time we have strengthened our support of the United Nations, knowing that the peoples of the world rest their hopes on it. Today our majority in its councils is overwhelming, our control unquestionable, reflecting the dependence on our goodwill of the innumerable governments we have helped establish and maintain in power. Our power to uphold spiritual realities over the material is witnessed in the current accession to the Security Council presidency of the representative of the Chinese nation on the island of Formosa, despite those events on

(Continued on Page 3)

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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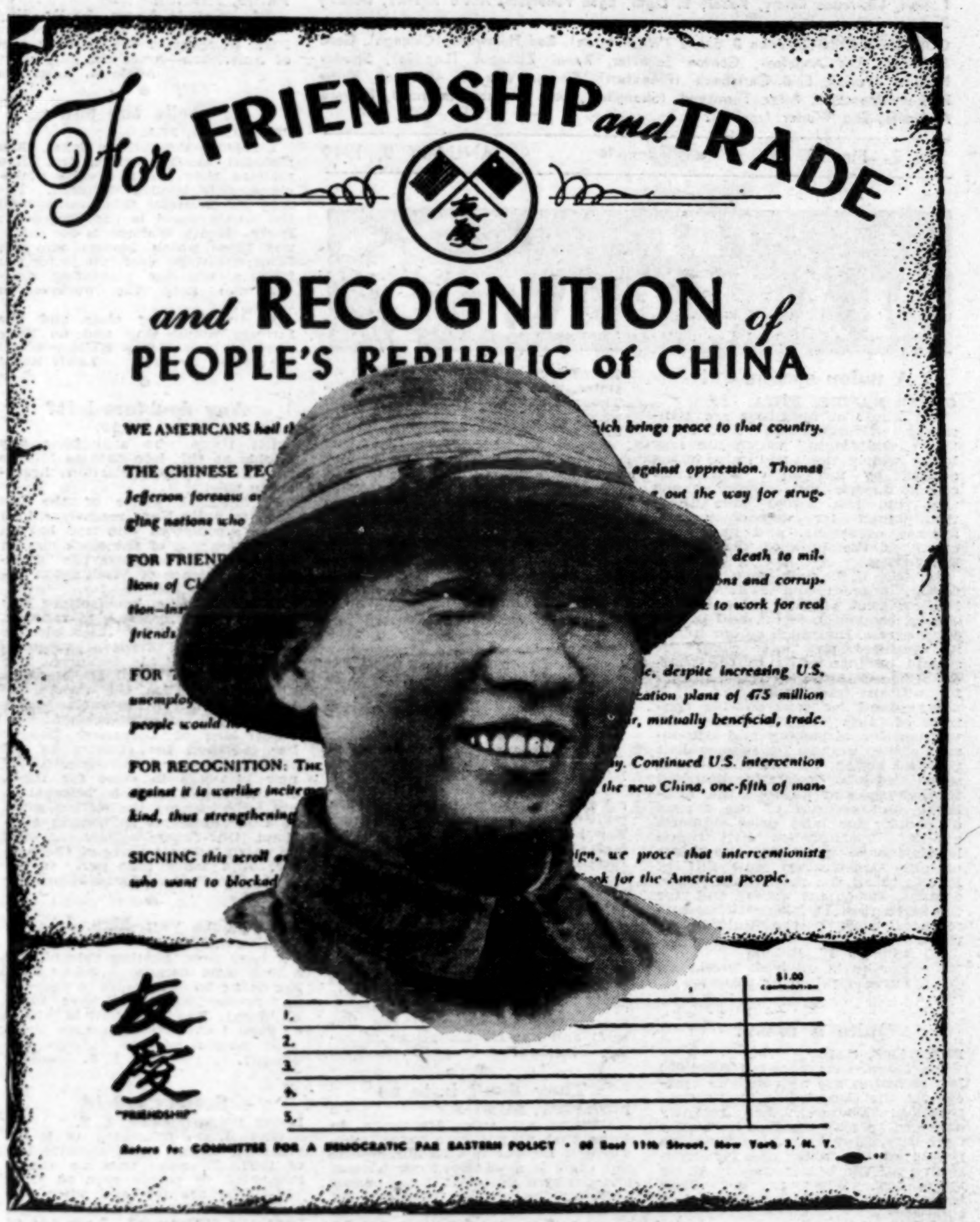
For FRIENDSHIP and TRADE
友愛
and RECOGNITION of
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC of CHINA
WE AMERICANS hail th... ...hich brings peace to that country.
THE CHINESE PEC... ...against oppression. Thomas Jefferson foresaw a... ...out the way for struggling nations who
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Return to: COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY • 00 East 11th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

In 1950, the echo of 1776

"We are pointing out the way," Thomas Jefferson wrote, "for struggling nations who wish like us to emerge from their tyrannies." Today Americans can hold out the hand of friendship to the new People's Republic of China and its mentor, Mao Tse-tung (above), and help thereby to struggle against a new tyranny that seeks to engulf our own republic—the tyranny of want and waste. For details see page 4.

The hen and you

There's eggs in the caves but not on the tables

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Living in a box?

We offer a preview of the house of happiness

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the progressive newsweekly

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THE MAILBAG

A union speaks out

CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA

All kinds of meanings are commonly attributed to the terms "left" and "right" which are now being widely used and more often abused by newspaper and radio commentators, but history shows that the left forces were those that stood for democracy and against monarchy, and had their origin at the time of the French Revolution.

In the U. S. such men as Jefferson, Lincoln and F. D. R. were leftists; that is, they were on the side of economic, social, and political progress. Inasmuch as our union is classified as "left wing," it should be interesting to the readers of the GUARDIAN that we stand for militant trade unionism.

We stand for rank-and-file control of international and local unions; for autonomy and democracy within unions; for independent political action; for the adoption of social and labor legislation designed to increase and improve the well-being and security of the masses of people; for farm price supports at 100% parity; for civil rights legislation to guarantee the fruits of our Constitution and Bill of Rights to all the people; for peace, against armament races, and for the settlement of international differences through the United Nations.

Charles W. Hobbie
Northwest District President,
Farm Equipment Workers

●

Quite a mess!

BRISBANE, CALIF.

We learn that about 100,000,000 lbs. of butter are now held in storage by the Commodity Credit Corporation. Denmark has recently arranged to send some of its butter over here. But I am told that the people of Denmark are far from having all the butter they need for themselves. What to do? Send them some of our "surplus," I suppose!

About $85,000,000 per year is being spent to hoard eggs and make them into that nasty powder that nobody wants to eat. So far, around 2,000,000,000 eggs have been laid away. Can you afford to buy all the eggs you want?

In the spring of 1948, American families were spending an average of $25.57 for food, or 32% of their total weekly income, reports the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture on June 9, 1949, from a survey of 1,600 households in 68 cities. In 1942, the percentage was 26. Families with incomes of $3,000 to $4,000 spent only 17% for food; those under $1,000 had to part with 74%.

The above seems to this correspondent to indicate quite a mess; but this is the country that has set out to inform the world how to run itself. Louise Harding Horr

●

Let a man work

ALTO, MICH.

Recently in Grand Rapids, Mich., I learned of an unemployed man using force to get one dollar from a workingman, so he could have something to eat and a bed. Well, the fight was lost, but the unemployed man did get a meal and a bed; the police took him in. Why do we wait until men are desperate before doing something? It seems to me that there should be, at all times, work for those who want it. There should be a federal program where unemployed could find work to supply their needs.

Where are the progressive forces around Grand Rapids? Of course, I know Michigan is a Republican stronghold, but there must be enough good men who want to see justice done. Ray Matthews

●

This is a patriot!

BATAVIA, N. Y.

Vice-President Garner used to offer his colleagues a drink with a sardonic quip: "Let's strike another blow for freedom!" I now forego liquor and use that money to send in paid subscriptions to the GUARDIAN—and strike some real blows for freedom.

Llewellyn C. Meier

●

New political insect

RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

For many years our major political parties have been infested with political insects such as diehard Republican, Claghorn Democrat, and white supremacist. Now a new species called Bipartisan has made its appearance. The genealogy shows that it is simply a cross between a Claghorn Democrat and a diehard Republican. The combination has produced a dual-sexed insect, properly classed as a political hermaphrodite.

It has the characteristics of the termite and the degenerate traits of its forebears (plus a fanatic antagonism toward anything liberal) and has hallucinations of being attacked. F. W. Wise

●

They don't hate us

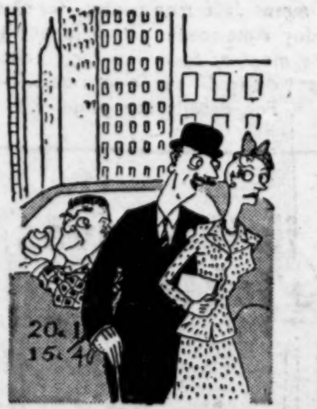
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

I want all true Americans to know that no one here hates them. There is no war talk in our papers, but there is news about our harvest and our new schools, the new houses built for the workers, peasants and white-collar workers. There is news about new factory-nurseries, cuts in prices and bonuses awarded to the best workers. And there is news about Peekskill, Groveland and Foley Square.

Yes, Mr. Editor, you may tell all the state troopers in the U. S. that the people of Hungary are "nigger lovers" and that they all long to hear Paul Robeson sing here. There would be lots of police at his concert here, too. They would sit in the auditorium, like all other people, and enjoy Paul Robeson's songs.

Please withhold my name. I have progressive relatives in the U. S., who have plenty of trouble anyway.

(Name withheld)



Daily Express, London

"You know, Maudie, these Americans are really amazin'ly quick—I'm practically certain that fellow realized we were English."

●

When in Paris . . .

PARIS, FRANCE

It's good to know, finally, that the GUARDIAN is on sale here in Paris in front of the meeting spot of Americans—American Express.

Adele G. Kaserman

●

It spells the same

PENSACOLA, FLA.

I voted a Republican ticket, then changed to Democratic, and then realized they are the same politicians, only spelled different. The only salvation for this country and the whole world is the Progressive Party. Henry Wallace is for labor, not those union leaders who sell labor down the river. He is for the farmers, not the plantation owners who keep the workers in slavery.

If the laboring class and the farmers would stop and do their own thinking, Henry Wallace would be elected by 95%. Lewis Royal

●

Any doubters left?

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Let those who still have any doubts at this late date as to who won the November elections hearken to this:

A financial writer of the Los Angeles Daily News recently chided those speculators who had bet on the wrong side of the stock market for failing to recognize the "growing benevolence of Washington toward Wall Street."

A few of these benefactions are: repeated rate increases to railroad, telephone, and gas and electric monopolies; all kinds of subsidies to all kinds of big business. The biggest handout of all, the Marshall Plan, underwrites the exports of Wall Street out of the public pocket to the tune of billions.

Secretary of Commerce Sawyer has stumped the country to tell the bankers and industrialists of new blessings in store for them. If the lesson of this betrayal is not to be lost, we, the victims, must vote for ourselves in coming elections. Our future welfare can only be entrusted to a party of the people. And today that party is the Progressive Party. Frank Montaigne

●

Bless you, Mrs. J.

MADISON, WIS.

I have been putting this off for a long time because I didn't have the dollar to spare. (We've been on a four-day week and have three children). But your paper is getting so good I can't bear to have these four people miss it (4 subs enclosed). Mrs. E. F. Jennings

●

Society's debt

LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y.

What I am interested in is revamping of the social security law of 1937. It seems that no one is interested in people over 60 years old. Jobs are few and when one is 65 years old, money is hard to get from our government. I am one of these with $40.50 for two people to live on, eat, pay rent, etc. I am an ex-soldier who lost my son in World War II. I think I have paid my debt to society.

Henry Ummelman

●

An invitation

CASTRO VALLEY, CALIF.

Catholicism, the most reactionary religious sect, is a foreign imposition on the U. S., while Christian Science, its direct opposite, is the most progressive. It is an outgrowth of our Puritan traditions and of our stern policy of separation of church and state, giving full freedom of religious research. The leader of this movement with her prophetic vision gave warning of what our enemy would be in these days.

Her words are: "Imperialism, monopoly, and industrial slavery." In churches in many cities, as regularly as Wednesday evening rolls around, we hear from the reader's desk: "The meeting is now open for experiences, testimonies and remarks on Christian Science."

Could it be that "our leftist friends" are committing their great sin of omission by not taking advantage of this democratic invitation? They as political economists can explain to the members the exact meaning of their own leaders' words. Henen Irene Elder

●

Joe who?

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

Harry Truman said: "I like old Joe." Nothing happened.

Three Norwegians sang: "We love Joe Stalin." The foreigners were fined $10 and put on probation.

Why the discrimination?

Harry A. Anderson

From the Czech

CHICAGO, ILL.

Your GUARDIAN is a magazine which should be read not only in America, but also by everyone the world over.

I enclose the subscription and hope to give a few more. Excuse my Czech, but my composition in English is not good and I hope someone will translate my letter.

Mrs. M. Bouse

Report to Readers

Yes, WE put that tack on your chair

THE purpose of this column is to put a tack on your chair —a succession of tacks, if necessary, to rouse you to the extreme and immediate urgency of enlarging the circulation of the GUARDIAN.

The GUARDIAN exists for one function only, that of reaching and serving the vast and growing segment of the American electorate which is determined on winning peace and progress NOW.

We are aiming to reach the dyed-in-the-wool progressives first—we counted over a million in the Wallace election —and with their help to begin reaching the rest.

BE A
GUARDIAN ANGEL

In the past year, we have tried many methods of reaching this first, basic million. We have had very little money to spend on the job; but with what money we had, we tried to establish ourselves as a service and information medium for the progressives of the country. We became a kind of journalistic stickum to hold together the Gideon's Army of '48 throughout a post-presidential year which found the American progressive movement fresh out of money, forces, literature. In fact, the movement was fresh out of practically everything but issues.

FRANKLY, we have not been too successful in bringing this first million into GUARDIAN readership. We have gone less than one-tenth of the way.

It would be easy to take a roundhouse swing at the progressive leadership of the country for failing to recognize the urgency of building a publication 100% devoted to its program. But they have had other headaches throughout the year.

It is more to the point to put the tack where it belongs —right on the chairseats of the sitting progressives among the GUARDIAN's own readers.

True, we have evoked some miraculous cooperation out of a few thousand magnificent, untiring actives among our readers. They have been the major factor in boosting GUARDIAN circulation ten-fold and more in 1949.

But these active boosters number perhaps fewer than 5% of our whole readership.

The implication—nay, the out-and-out fact—is that 95% of GUARDIAN readers, each one undoubtedly counting him- or herself as a double-dyed progressive, have been sitting this one out.

THAT'S why we shall busy ourselves from now on with putting tacks on your chairs. Those who don't sit down on the job won't feel hurt; the rest of you can look forward to weekly trauma of the fundament (see Webster's) until we get a rise out of you.

Back on page 11 (and in a letter which went to every subscriber during the holiday weeks) we make it both simple and profitable for you to chip in on this job. If you'll dig through your holiday mail, you'll undoubtedly find our letter with four easy-to-mail, send-no-money subscription cards—plus a commission plan, yet!

A Chicago go-getter responded right away:

"Forpetesake, send me 25 more cards. I'm not anti-social. I've got more than four friends!"

Another wrote:

"I am overjoyed in getting five new subscribers the very first day. Ashamedly, I must admit that I am the type that always lacked that driving force. I hope to stay awake in the future."

Several others asked for 50 additional cards. "The price makes it a gift," one remarked.

BUT all in all, we have heard to date from exactly 1% of the people addressed by our holiday letter. That leaves 99% eligible for tacks on their chairs.

Of course, we have proceeded thus far in this column on the blithe assumption that the GUARDIAN is a fitten newsweekly for any and all progressives. If the GUARDIAN doesn't please you, tell us and we'll fix it quick. But if it does please you, forpetesake tell your friends!

Yours for a million GUARDIAN readers,

John T. McManus

The real State of the Union

The speech Truman might have made

(Continued from page 1)

the mainland which I need not mention.

Affairs at home

At a time of unprecedented governmental income derived from the productivity of our people, it would have been at least conscience-salving to have returned to them a portion of our great wealth in the form of services, medical care, new power and water projects, new homes and educational facilities.

Unfortunately the needs of our war-expanded heavy industry, the demands of our financiers laden down with uninvested capital requiring overseas outlets, the needs of our global military establishment, all forced on this government a foreign rather than a domestic expansion policy which we had no power to resist. Such were the terms of the support given this Administration when it came to power, and such the commitments made within my own party and with that other great obverse party which forms our bi-party coalition.

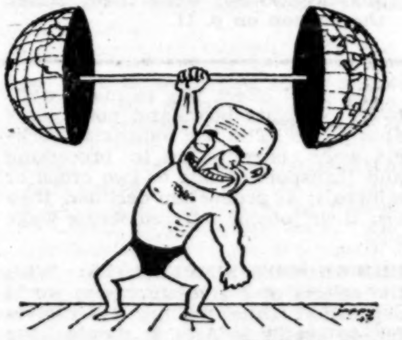
Still, with $1 left out of every $4 to spend on peaceful development, our Republic continues to increase in the enjoyment of freedom within its borders.

Our country's largest investors and the most important owners of our wealth are more free today than at any time since 1912. Proof of this lies in the fact that in 1930 our country's top corporations controlled only 30% of our industry while today they control over 70%.

Only a few days ago our Federal Trade Commission was able to report that the profits of all manufacturing concerns in the second and third quarters of 1949 increased 15% over their previous peak levels even though their sales increased less than 1%.

Ah, freedom

Our present Anti-Trust Act (to which I shall later add a number of liberal clauses) has been a milestone to which business could point with increasing security over the years.



Dikobraz, Prague

ATLAS TRUMAN

Our national income has risen fivefold from $50,000,000,000 to $250,000,000,000 in 50 years. In light of this it is regrettable that our Joint Economic Committee should find it necessary to report that approximately 16,000,000 Americans live today on incomes of less than $1,000 a year and another 18,000,000 on incomes of less than $2,000 a year, when we are quite aware that a family of four requires at least $3,000 a year if it is to make a decent living.

Increasing freedom from poverty and drudgery would indeed give a fuller meaning to American life, and we have done everything in our power within the confines of our global commitments and the necessities and demands of free enterprise to ameliorate poverty within reason.

The welfare state

This year the social security tax will increase from 1% to 1½% and thus increase the sum available for our needy aged. At the same time, in view of the inadequacy of these benefits, we are encouraging private pension programs by industrialists and unions. Corporations find them advantageous as substitutes for wage increases and many union leaders seem agreeable to this praiseworthy form of labor-management cooperation in a period of high productivity and profits.

As I make my report Mr. Robert C. Goodwin, director of the Labor Dept.'s Bureau of Employment Security, is reporting that (and I quote):

"The number of workers who have exhausted all their benefits have increased steadily throughout the year (1949) to a total of more than 1,000,000 during the first 9 months. As the year drew to a close it appeared that more than a third of the beneficiaries would exhaust their benefit rights. In some states more than half the beneficiaries have already used up all their benefits."

In fact, last year 7,500,000 workers out of jobs received $1,700,000,000 in benefits —an all-time high. These are some of the sacrifices some of our people are making to our nation's greater welfare in a troubled world.

Things to come

Nevertheless within the past year we have made a good start in providing housing for low-income groups at the rate of 800,000 a year. Admittedly at this rate it would take us approximately 56 years to supply the housing needed by low-income America, and in that time an even greater number of now livable homes will have deteriorated. But the start has been made and the unfortunate fact that the funds for a larger and more adequate effort are committed elsewhere will have to be faced.

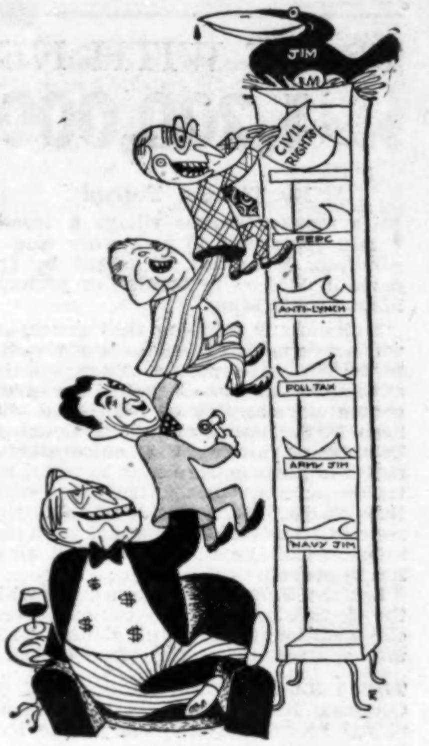
We have also raised minimum wages from 40c an hour to 75c with, of course, some inevitable exceptions in the South, in farming areas and in many of the service fields, thus excluding some millions of the neediest from the benefits of the law. But organized labor has already far exceeded this minimum and thus minimized its significance to almost all but those who are excepted.

We have gone forward with the development of our natural resources, alleviating where possible—as in the Kings River project of the Central Valley Authority and in the Connecticut Valley—any unnecessary restraints on private power companies. We are as determined as ever to see that the Missouri Valley and the Columbia River Basin power and irrigation projects remain on our books as goals to be achieved as soon as funds are available from our world peace program.

The surplus state

In the past year, incomes of the family-type farm have begun to recede precipitously and many are being wiped out or bought up by large farmers. In the face of mounting surpluses in our bulging warehouses, farm prices are at their post-war low, and there is the gravest danger that increased crops in Europe will take the bottom out of the grain and cotton markets. To combat this we have sought to give greater assurance of stability to the farmer through the Brannan Plan, which the House of Representatives has once rejected this year in view of the opposition of the farm organizations representing the larger and economically more stable farm owners.

It is truly unfortunate that as farm prosperity began to recede, global policy made it essential that we withdraw our support from the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization plan to sell our surpluses to needy countries in Asia and eastern Europe. For the sake of our more stable and big business-like farmers we shall consider once more curtailment of production and the destruction of those surpluses which cannot be sold profitably.



For similar reasons, we cannot accommodate those industrialists and exporters who clamor for renewal of trade with that expanding third of the world we are forced to exclude because of the nature of its governments.

The life abundant

I have been made fully aware by our Army reports during the war, and by recent surveys such as that conducted by the **N.Y. Times**, that the health of our people—especially our youth of military age—and the education of our children are not all that might be desired. No one can take lightly the fact that 40% of Americans lack bathtubs and 35% don't have indoor toilets or running water in their homes. Nor are we unaware that millions of our children receive no schooling, and that the official estimate of the need for repairs to dilapidated school buildings is $10,500,000,000; for new highways and highway repairs, $50,000,000,000.

These evils can be and shall be remedied just as the evils of discrimination because of race, segregation and unfair employment practices could be and should be remedied. It is my purpose here today as it has been in the past to call them to the attention of our lawmakers and ask them to act.

With strength and guidance from that Almighty Power who has placed before us such great opportunities for the good of mankind in the years to come, I am confident that—now as in the past—our lawmakers will resist the temptation to take any action whatsoever.

Progressive Party on the message

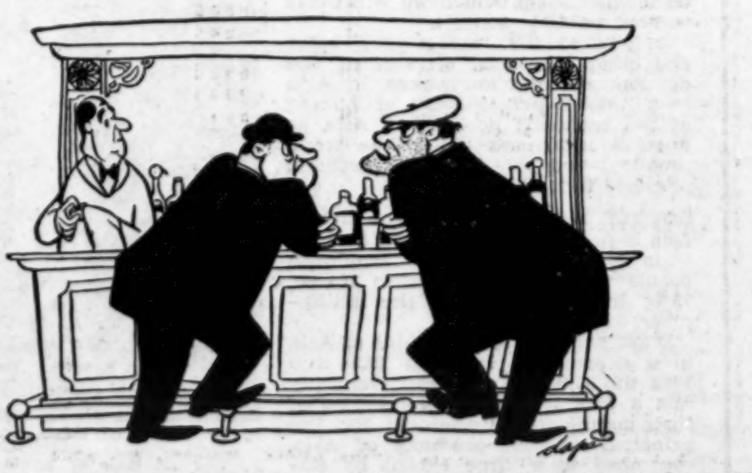
C. B. BALDWIN, national secretary of the Progressive Party, made this comment on President Truman's message to Congress:

"The President's message makes it perfectly clear that only united, organized and independent action of the American people can get this session of Congress to meet the people's needs.

"Lacking from the message was any attempt to fix responsibility for the betrayal, by the first session of the 81st Congress, of the promises made to the people in the 1948 election campaign. Indeed, the President was in no position to fix that responsibility, for it rests primarily upon the Democratic leadership in Congress and the President himself. And already on the opening day of Congress, before the battle is even joined, Administration spokesmen have indicated their surrender on Taft-Hartley, civil rights legislation and other key legislative measures to guard the people's welfare.

"The President's statement that the dominant factor of our fiscal policy is the expenditure of 70% of the entire national budget for past and future wars again highlights the overriding contradiction between the cold war and the welfare of the American people. His emphasis on the expansion of world trade as an instrument of world peace and American well-being rings hollow in the face of a continuing policy that shuts off the vast markets of eastern Europe and China to the products of American workers and farmers.

"In this session of Congress the Progressive Party will work together with all groups and organizations of progressive Americans regardless of political affiliation, and with those congressmen and senators who will support a legislative program in the interests of the people."



"You can get as tough as you want with Joe Stalin, but don't get tough with me."

TRADE WITH NEW CHINA

1,200,000 U. S. jobs

By Tabitha Petran

IN a remote Chinese village a treadmill gives way to a factory and a generator is needed. It might be ordered in Moscow or London or perhaps Minneapolis, Minn.

Minnesotans shipping that generator will not be performing an act of charity for a backward people. They will be striking a shrewd bargain. For such generators many times multiplied will keep U. S. factory chimneys smoking, U. S. trains running, U. S. ships afloat; they will mean jobs to men in mills, on trains, piers and boats. (Business with New China, Harry Bridges told the recent CIO convention, "would keep the industries of the U. S. going full blast for 20 years.")

But the U. S. embargo on trade with the socialist world has cut off even our traditional trade with China, with unhappy results for the West Coast.

THE TOLL IN JOBS: About half of Oregon's lumber workers are unemployed because of the loss of the Far East market. Yet China needs lumber for railroad ties and telephone poles.

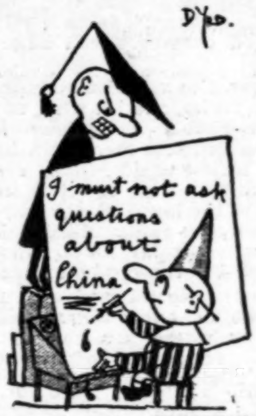
Oregon grain farmers once sent China millions of pounds of wheat and flour. Disappearance of the market has cut Oregon's grain business 10% to 20%, has left farmers with unmarketed wheat and flour mill workers jobless.

New China needs cotton for the textile mills of Shanghai. The U. S. surplus in 1950 will be about 8,500,000 bales, but cotton is on the list of items requiring export licenses.

The China trade used to account for 50% of San Francisco's foreign commerce. In July, 1949, one ship left San Francisco for China. Resumption of trade on the prewar level would mean a 15% to 20% increase in commerce for the port of Los Angeles, 3,000 jobs for West Coast maritime workers, and put 50 ships back into operation.

A VAST MARKET WAITS: But the flow of goods that went to old China before the war was sluggish indeed compared to the tide New China now needs. Its economic program envisages industrialization on a vast scale. Its needs are precisely in the capital-goods industries which the **Journal of Commerce** recently called "the weakest link in the business chain today."

Spending for new plant and equipment has been the major prop in the U. S. postwar boom. Current fears of depression stem from the decline of orders for new plant and equipment since the last quarter of 1948; they are expected to decline further in 1950. For U. S. industry has largely completed the re-equipment and expansion of its plant; its productive capacity now far exceeds demand.


I must not ask questions about China

Daily Worker, London

". . . and write it out 5,000,000 times!"

If the U. S. is to avoid idle machines and idle men, it must find markets for its capital-goods industries. The **Journal of Commerce**, organ of big business, admitted last month that the "determining factor" in the economic outlook will be the course of new orders in this segment of the economy. China—as well as eastern Europe and the Soviet Union—constitute vast untapped markets for U. S. capital goods.

LOST—1,200,000 JOBS: As the GUARDIAN reported July 11, 1949, a U. S. credit to New China of $2,000,000,000 a year would mean 400,000 jobs in heavy industry. The increased purchasing power of these 400,000 workers would mean jobs for an additional 800,000.

This $2,000,000,000 investment in 1,200,000 jobs for U. S. workers and a stable market for U. S. business can be compared to the $6,000,000,000 the U. S. poured down the rathole to keep Chiang Kai-shek in power, and to more than $26,000,000,000 spent between mid-1945 and mid-1949 on "foreign aid" harnessed not to basic trade needs, but to political cold-war considerations.

U. S. exports to China now come to about 18c per inhabitant in comparison with exports to the Philippines which amount to about $22.18 per capita. If the U. S. exported $2,000,000,000 worth of goods to China, the rate per capita would be only $4.21. Exports of $10,000,000,000 a year would be needed to bring China trade up to the level of Philippine trade on a per capita basis.

FACTS FOR THE BRITISH: Instead of developing trade with China, the U. S. is doing everything to hamper it. While the U. S. tries to reverse the course of history, Britain prepares to salvage all it can from the wreck of its commercial empire. The British have investments of $1,000,000,000 to $2,000,000,000 in China proper and another $1,000,000,000 in Hong Kong.

Moreover, the British have an undercover, desperate world-wide war to fight with the U.S. for commercial dominion. Far more experienced imperialists, they have to face facts. They are less interested in schemes to stop socialism by boycotting one-third of the world.

U.S. business men, interviewed by the **Journal of Commerce**, "frankly fear that prospective British recognition may cut U.S. exporters-importers out of a potentially profitable market."

The U.S. has much less of an investment in China than the British: less than $100,000,000 in commercial ventures, perhaps $50,000,000 in missionary and educational projects. But if it has little to lose, it has a world to win by fair trading.

CORPORATE BARRICADES: Who then stands in the way of trade with new China, and why? Victor Perlo, writing in a special China issue of the **Far East Spotlight**, gave this answer: "A small number of very large corporations interested not in trading with the Far East, but in owning it.

"They are Standard Oil with its rich wells and refineries in Indonesia, U.S. Rubber with its plantations on the same islands, Anaconda Copper with its new exploratory concessions in Siam, American and Foreign Power with its electric utility in Shanghai, Chase National Bank and Bank of America, with its branches in Tokyo."

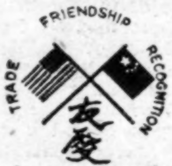
These companies could now trade more extensively with New China than they could at any time with the old China. But New China is open only for business, not for conquest.

●

Isn't it your business to see that others get these facts vitally important to every American's living standards? It's easy to do: write their names on the coupon on p. 11.

Fight for friendship

A NATIONWIDE campaign for friendship, trade and recognition of the People's Republic of China is being conducted by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. It opened with circulation of scrolls to be signed by thousands of people, ultimately to be bound and sent to China as greetings from Americans. Each signer is asked to contribute $1 to aid the committee's fight for a friendly policy toward China and other Asiatic countries. Organizations are asked to give $10.



Signers will receive an emblem bearing the flags of the U.S. and China and the slogan, "For Friendship, Trade and Recognition." Scrolls and buttons may be obtained from the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, 80 E. 11th St., New York 3, N. Y.; Box 227, San Francisco, Calif.; Box 9807, Station S, Los Angeles, Calif.

People on the march

Asia wants to live!

THE homes of half the population of the world are in the Far East. The way these people live, die and multiply in the hot countries from India and Burma through Indo-China, Siam, China and Malaya to Indonesia, the Philippines, Japan and countless islands is an explosive factor in any political calculation. The New China is demonstrating this today.

An example of a completely distorted approach to Asiatic problems was a recent American Federation of Labor news release, which expressed fear that Communist advances would deprive U.S. workers of jobs by withholding raw materials used by U.S. industries. The facts are quite different. To develop its own land, held back in abject poverty during a century of imperialism, a China in process of socialization will want more, not less, trade with us—provided we will trade without political strings.

As long as U.S. "statesmen," labor and otherwise, insist on viewing the development of communism in Asia as a Russian plot, instead of looking at the economic position in Asia as it really is, no solution of the trade problem—and the U.S. job problem attached to it—is possible.

DOUBLE MISERY: The economy of Asia is predominantly agricultural. In Siam 89% of all gainfully employed people work on the land; in Korea, 73%; in Indonesia and the Philippines, 69%.

What happens to the people of Asia in a depression? Between 1929 and 1932 the U.S., Britain and Germany saw a 25% decline in the prices of their manufactured products. But the principal colonial products of Asia, controlled to a large extent by European exploiters, dropped more than 50% in market price.

Peasants and workers who produced those goods and crops—tea, jute, cotton, sugar, etc.—got far less than the market price, of course. And at the same time the prices of manufactured items to the peasants of Asia were out of reach.

"EXPENDABLE" MILLIONS: Even in "normal" times the peasants of Asia suffered from chronic famines and constant hunger. But as the depression deepened, Asia's millions were ground between a world trade system based on profits from cheap labor and a land that could not support them.

Between 1921 and 1931 India's landless peasants increased from 20,000,000 to 30,000,000, and have at least doubled since then. In 1931, 70,000,000 Chinese were stricken by famine.

INDONESIA: A FARMER WORKS HIS LAND

A pair of cows, a wooden plough, tilling and reaping by hand

The total effect was to make well-to-do peasants poor, and poor peasants poorer. The few industrial workers were concentrated in processing and transporting one or two crops or minerals; as production declined, they lost their jobs or suffered severe wage cuts.

CHILDHOOD'S SIMPLE JOYS: With the effects of a free-enterprise world depression thus making themselves felt so keenly in Asia, it should have occasioned little surprise that China, Burma, India, Indo-China, Siam and Malaya saw the beginnings of aggressive democratic labor and political movements in those years.

Except in China, where economic change is the order of the day, conditions have not altered appreciably. Not only are peasants and workers still bound to unproductive land and colonial exploitation in most countries; children are still considered in terms of commercial value.

This was emphasized at the recent Peking Conference of Asian Women by Amita Devi of India. "In tea plantations of India," she said, "children constitute 25.7% of the workers, in the state of Gwalior 71%, in the mica mines 18%." In Malaya "little girls between five and seven are seen gasping under the cruel burden of buckets of liquid rubber."

TO LIVE, NOT DIE: Land and bellies are the economics of Asia. The people there are on the march to solve their problems.

They can use help—the kind that creates jobs and raises living standards throughout the world, not the kind that intensifies cold wars.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

The Du Ponts dine out
"My cake is dough . . ." (Taming of the Shrew, Act V, Scene 1)

THE NATION

DuPonts bravely face 1950's Buts

AT planting time primitive people used to raise their hands high above their heads with the idea that the grain they grew would reach that height by harvest time.

In the first week of the new year some Americans practiced a similar ritual. Politicians ceremoniously repeated that the coming year would be one of opportunity and prosperity.

HAPPY NEW YEAR BUT: Economists hedged. The New York **Times** published a special businessman's section for the new year. These were headlines on one page: "BUSINESS IS OPTIMISTIC ON IMMEDIATE OUTLOOK **BUT** CAUTION SIGN IS OUT." "THE COUNTRY WEATHERS POST-WAR ADJUSTMENTS **BUT** FACES NEW STRAINS." "SCARE OVER UNEMPLOYMENT FADES **BUT** JOBS ARE SHORT IN SOME AREAS."

In column after column came the

BUTS: "DOWNWARD TREND IN FARMING IS SEEN." "DECLINING PROFITS LIKELY IN INDUSTRY." "UNCERTAINTY FELT BY MONEY MARKET." "U.S. FACES DILEMMA ON BIG DEBT."

There was a reference to "some bloom" being "back on the boom" but a quick cover-up: "If there is a tempering of optimism in some business quarters, it stems from consideration of the ebb in capital goods expansion, the lower income ahead for farmers, the soaring of consumer credit and the likely failure of devaluation to solve the problems of western Europe. To these matters may be added some questions about the continuation of the automobile and building booms and basically, of course, our use of red ink in the government books when good, solid black is the fluid of prosperity."

The Moscow radio said it with only one "but": "Tomorrow holds nothing in store but gloom and hopelessness for the capitalist world."

GANG'S ALL HERE: The Russians seemed way off base to 632 well-fed people gathered in Longwood Gardens, Kenneth Square, Pa. They ate johnny-cake (corn bread) and game pie (veal, turkey, chicken, assorted game, thyme, bay leaf, salt, pepper). They also ate sea-food cocktail, roast beef, mushrooms, potato balls, salad, pudding and coffee. They ate for two hours straight. They were the surviving members of the Du Pont clan, a family that controls a large part of the nation's chemical and munitions industries and all of the state of Delaware.

The johnny-cake and game pie were commemorative. When the Du Ponts came to the country 150 years ago they had nothing but game pie to eat throughout the voyage. Weary of the stuff by the time the ship landed, the early Du Ponts wandered into a farmhouse and finding nobody around walked off with what was on the table—johnny-cake. Their spirit remained alive in their descendants in the sunken gardens of Longwood.

HERE TOO: Far removed from Longwood a group of 28 people gathered on Murray Street in New York to see GUARDIAN's new year in. There was no stolen johnny-cake to celebrate. Editors, typesetters, and the switchboard girl sang **Sweet Adeline.** Everybody predicted the same thing for 1950: the GUARDIAN would be more useful to more progressives (see pages 2 and 11).

WASHINGTON

STATE OF THE UNION

Did we dream it?

TO a man from Mars, or even to Soviet Ambassador Alexander Panyushkin, who sat in the gallery as the President delivered his State of the Union message, the scene must have appeared fantastic indeed.

Few, save perhaps the children of congressmen perched on the laps of their fathers, thought the President was soberly assessing the nation. The coalition of southern Democrats and Republicans was on the floor for all to see, ready to block any half-hearted effort by the President to implement his promises. It was a campaign speech, pure and simple, aimed at November's elections.

When the President suggested governmental economy the Republicans, forsaking traditional dignity, guffawed and booed as if they were at a whistle-stop listening to the candidate talk from a train's rear end.

STATE OF THE CAMPAIGN: In this setting, the President asked for enactment of his entire "Fair Deal"—Taft-Hartley repeal, health insurance, civil rights, expanded social security, housing, rent control. He soothed business with predictions of a trillion-dollar economy by 2000 A.D. (an election year), promised a measure of tax relief, spoke confidently of the defeat of communism in Europe.

Truman had led Congress again into its annual national dilemma: how to spend billions of dollars to promote world anti-communism through the Marshall Plan and armaments and at the same time inaugurate a liberal program at home. Reactions to his address followed a well-worn pattern.

Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-O.), fearing "mild-toned socialist handout programs," was reminded of Byron's Don Juan: "The mildest manner'd man that ever scuttled a ship or cut a throat." Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas (D-Ill.) said it was "difficult to predict" what action would be taken on "highly controversial" measures. And in Albany, N. Y., Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, an old campaigner himself, devoted one-third of his message to the State Legislature to excoriating "socialized medicine" and Democratic fiscal policies.

UP TO US: Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) said that only the people, making their voices heard, could force Congress to enact progressive legislation.

Do you owe the Guardian for your sub or renewal?

LEGISLATION

Detours ahead

PRESIDENT William Green of the AFL had eased President Truman's mind by agreeing to postpone a real fight for Taft-Hartley repeal until after elections. The N. Y. **Herald Tribune** and other papers had already checked off legislation for which there was little or no hope of favorable action: civil rights, Brannan farm plan, rent control, health insurance.

(Continued on following page)

JENNINGS PERRY: Now firm the foundation

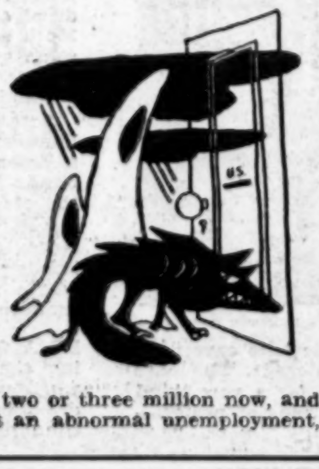
IT is reasonable to predict that the very next amendment of our Constitution will declare the right of every citizen to have a job. This amendment will be made the very next time we have as many as 10,000,000 out of a job—which will be late enough.

It is the lack, now, of such a guarantee which accounts for most of the nervousness of our society as manifested in our constant concern for the state of business, in the need for endless repetition of Hooveresque assurances that everything is going to be all right in the market place, in our pathological fear of communism.

Even in "good times" the apprehension of bad times haunts us, and our enjoyment of prosperity finds us ill-at-ease. Our tremendous pride in "the American system" and its accomplishments still is an emotion watered by the memory of 1929 and hedged, despite the various measures we have legislated since then, with the inexorable realization that the marvelous thing may—again—run off the track without warning.

AT the bottom of our lack of confidence is the possibility, watched out of the corner of our eye, that the people may be put into the streets again.

We are not certain that the people will stand for being put in the streets again. We should sleep better, we should be rid of many nightmares, if there actually were a guarantee that the people would not be without jobs. We shall be even more proud of the American system when that guarantee is made a part — a foundation part of the system, for only then will the system cease to shake in its shoes.



Some people are walking the streets now, and we observe them anxiously. Only two or three million now, and we tell ourselves this is not an abnormal unemployment, not dangerous. We tell ourselves they have "social security," that the system needs a floating labor supply, and that in any case business will pick up in the spring.

But we warily eye the somber little statistics which record the increase of unemployment from October to November, from November to December; and we turn hungrily to what Commerce Secretary Sawyer says about "brighter 1950," and what General Motors President Wilson says, and to the "buoyancy of the market." For behind the little statistics we have glimpsed an array of pinched faces and smouldering eyes and hard hands that are idle unwillingly.

SOME people are walking the roads, too. In the cotton country thousands of sharecroppers, among them many who saw no choice but to vote for acreage controls and marketing quotas to avoid ruinous overproduction, are finding they have voted themselves out of house and home, and that their labor has become "surplus."

The better-off in the cotton country are locking their smokehouses for safety this winter, and looking forward to "cheap help" when the plowing begins. But thoughtful planters know the situation is not good, and thoughtful merchants recall unhappily the last time when the roads were full of wandering families and penniless men.

OUR system has this on its mind (and perhaps on its conscience): that it has not yet faced the right of able and willing men to gainful employment—and that until it does, it is like a house, in most ways a beautiful house, built on sand.

It has grudgingly gone the half-measure: to a minimum wage, to unemployment compensation, to old age assistance—even, in desperate times, and temporarily, to "made work." It has indeed produced more bathtubs and more automobiles than any other system in any other land.

Yet it has provided no real assurance that, come what may, the people will have jobs. Yet it must—if only to keep its foot forward in the endless competition of all social systems; if only to recapture the self-assurance it had before any other system had come along to demonstrate that a nation can stand, even in peacetime, on the comforting premise that all men may have a job as a right.

(Continued from preceding page)

The Brannan Plan was a touchstone for the Fair Deal. Last July 21, 160 Republicans and 79 Democrats teamed up in the House to defeat it; 165 Democrats, four Republicans and one American Laborite were for it. Most southern Democrats voted with farm conservatives.

THE STRATEGY, YES: Truman's strategy was to look like a "political realist," to campaign for the Fair Deal rather than enact it, to save the Brannan Plan and the repeal of Taft-Hartley as issues to "take to the people." He would have to count on leaders of the AFL, CIO and Americans for Democratic Action to play along.

It seemed likely, as Congress got down to work last week, that two measures would pass: some expansion of social security coverage, which the House had already adopted, and repeal of the oleomargarine tax. The Senate was embroiled in both. Although workers were already paying 1½% of their weekly pay into the social security fund under a new law, there was no assurance that truly broad coverage would be approved. And at the week-end, dairy interests were fighting hard to keep some discrimination against oleo.

PORK-BARREL POLKA: Adoption of a new "omnibus" appropriation plan promised complications for election-year money bills. Previously, appropriations were introduced and debated separately; this time some $40,000,000,000 will be wrapped up in a single bill to be reported out by April 15. Thus, congressional financial power will be greater than ever before, since a veto would tie up all government funds—something a President does not casually risk. The "all-or-nothing" technique will also give legislative logrollers vast new opportunities.

POLITICS

NEW YORK

Re-enter Tammany

DURING the campaign New York's Mayor William O'Dwyer spoke bitterly of Tammany Hall and the braves pretended to sulk in their wigwams. Last week, the campaign over, the braves came out from behind their cigar smoke; the Mayor dropped the masquerade; and Tammany renewed its lease on City Hall.

The New Year festivities, which began with plums all around for politicians, were crowned with a game of musical chairs. It began with O'Dwyer's appointment of Jerry Finkelstein, his campaign manager, as chairman of the City Planning Commission. Finkelstein's previous experience: office boy for Tom Dewey during the rackets investigations of the 1930's; head of a company that placed soft-drink vending machines in subways; publisher of a civil-service paper.

LOVE THAT TAMMANY: The planning post had been vacated by Robert F. Wagner Jr., who was sworn in as Borough President of Manhattan. His first act was to fire four Tammany jobholders; before the day was out, three had been hired for other city jobs.

The Mayor had already taken care of former Borough President Hugo Rogers, a Tammany stalwart, with a new $10,000-a-year job as "Traffic Counsel."

O'Dwyer's cue for the future came from his new deputy, William Reid, who had been chairman of the Board of Transportation, As an economy expert, Reid had slashed transit costs at the expense of service. As the Mayor's deputy, Reid announced he would immediately investigate economies in all city departments. New Yorkers—especially underpaid city workers—shuddered.

MUNICIPAL CORRUPTION

Shame still there

LINCOLN Steffens' **Shame of the Cities** shook U.S. complacency about municipal corruption nearly half a century ago. Last week the shame was still there, the complacency was still there, the muckrakers were far milder. The National Municipal League was picking 11 cities for an "All-American Team."

The League, founded originally to expose machine corruption, advocates "business efficiency" as the way to reform. Its chosen instrument is the city manager, nearest thing to a corporation executive.

LOOK AT THE ROOTS: For "efficiency" it handed out honors to Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, San Antonio, Grand Rapids, Bayonne, N.J., Cincinnati, Des Moines, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., and Worcester, Mass.

"Their stories," said the League, "are tales of real fighting, bitter battles against fat and placid political machines, against bosses with more power than men should have, against corruption and against genuine grass-roots inefficiency."

The chosen cities deserved applause, but the League's emphasis on efficiency left important root evils unexposed, Philadelphia's "good government" victory still left the Republican Party and Pennsylvania Railroad in control. The substitution of a Hynes for a Curley as mayor of Boston left the Democratic Party's courthouse and police gangs in power, promised no solution to miserable housing conditions. Pittsburgh's triumph over smoke control left a vicious numbers racket firmly ensconced around City Hall.

The hen and you

Farmer gets 20c for eggs that cost you 69c a dozen

By Lawrence Emery

> *"The hens are laying like mad, Sir!"*
> **—End of Scene I, Bernard Shaw's "Saint Joan"**

WHEN the hens started laying like mad as Shaw's Joan of Arc pledged herself to liberate France, it was an omen of good times. Back there in the 15th century another egg laid was another sold and eaten. As the super-civilized U.S. goes into the second half of the 20th century, it's not so simple: hundreds of millions of people lack eggs, but the more the hens lay the harder it gets for the farmer to buy clothes.

The egg is a clue to what's to come for farmers in 1950, after a year in which prices they got for their products kept dropping, farm income sagging some $2,500,000,000 under the 1948 figure—yet prices farmers paid for goods and services stayed at or near peak levels.

The big pinch is on. Best estimates for 1950 under the Truman Administration's new farm legislation are that farm income will drop another 15% or more.

EGGS AS FAR AS THE EYE CAN SEE

Dried eggs and powdered eggs fill a part of the 16½-acre limestone cave near Atchison, Kans., used by the U. S. government for food storage. The cave has modern electrical refrigeration, which makes life easier for a new breed of American, the cave manager. The cave also holds 20,493 tons of prunes—if you like prunes.

HE WHO GETS MILKED: The egg story is this. Under the old farm law the government supported the price of eggs at a national average level of 45c a dozen, which was 90% parity. Under the new law this level is no longer mandatory. In 1950, the Dept. of Agriculture has announced, egg prices will be supported at a national average of 37c a dozen—75% of parity.

Secretary of Agriculture Charles E. Brannan said he was "extremely reluctant" to take the step; but "under the circumstances, with no other means than purchases to carry out our commitments to egg producers, there is no alternative." This sounded like a direct criticism of the present farm law, but left small and medium poultry farmers wondering how many of them would survive the year.

In Minnesota, second largest egg-producing state, the announcement made 8-column headlines on front pages, brought forth editorials titled: "The Egg Confusion." Quick figuring showed that the state's poultry farmers faced a loss in income of at least $26,000,000 for the year.

O.K., NO EGGS: In 1949 the government kept prices up by taking "surplus" eggs off the market. It bought dried eggs from processors who paid 35c a dozen for eggs delivered. If the same system is continued, that price will now drop to somewhere between 26c and 28c a dozen.

Actually, at the end of the year, Minnesota farmers were getting 20c a dozen on the farm. In that week Grade-A eggs brought 69c a dozen at the corner grocery.

Some poultry raisers were going on strike. In Fairmont, Minn., they were holding their eggs; one big buyer whose normal purchases ran in the thousands could get only 11 cases.

BE A CAVE-MANAGER! Complicating the problem was this question: where would the government put more dried eggs? It already owned more than $90,000,000 worth, kept them in makeshift storage space including caves. For this vast accumulation, in spite of worldwide hunger, there was no market either at home or abroad. All the bakers in the U.S. couldn't use up this amount in five years.

Secretary Brannan himself pointed up the idiocy of the situation in testimony before a congressional subcommittee: "Why, if each person in the U.S. had eaten only 15 more eggs in the last three years there wouldn't be any surplus."

It worked out this way: consumer prices were kept so artificially high by government buying that people couldn't eat enough eggs; the producers were losing money and going broke; a false "surplus" of 64,000,000 pounds represented an almost total loss. Everybody but the processors, the middleman and the cave managers (that's a new job: managing caves full of never-to-be-eaten eggs) was losing.

THE BEWILDERED HEN: In New Jersey, under the leadership of the National Farmers Union's Eastern Divn., poultry farmers began to act. More than 300 "grass roots" farmers, representing almost every poultry organization in the state, met Dec. 29, formed a statewide committee to stave off crisis.

Their plan: an amendment to the present farm law permitting the government to release stored grain to poultry growers at a price representing an egg-feed ratio equivalent to 90% parity. This would serve to maintain farm income while passing on reduced prices to consumers. It would also provide a useful outlet for government-held wheat (172,000,000 bushels) and corn (83,000,000 bushels).

A leading state CIO official pledged his organization's full support to the poultry farmers' fight.

In the farm problem of 1950 the egg comes first of many sharpening headaches. The Administration will do some talking about the Brannan Plan, which would provide an immediate solution. The American hen will lay eggs in addition to cackling, but the only result of her diligence is likely to be an increased demand for cave managers.

LABOR WEEK

FUR WORKERS

Not so much slack

BEFORE the war fur workers worked hard from June to January and earned top union wages. From January to June most shops closed down. Some operated part-time. No union contract covered workers in off-season. Employers dickered individually, paid far less, fired those who wouldn't take the reduced wages and used the slack season to even scores with militant unionists.

During the war business flourished all year round. But in 1948, when it dipped again and the companies moved to restore the slack-season differential, the union struck, balking at a return to pre-war conditions. The union won the right to bargain for its members all year round.

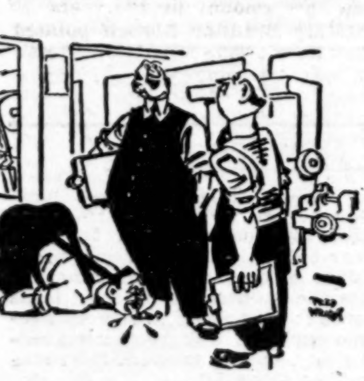
NO SLACK STANDARDS: Last week the new agreement went into effect. It set standards for slack-season work: No workers could be fired except for "just and sufficient cause." Work had to be divided equally among all workers of the same skill. A uniform pay scale was set for slack months—11% lower than the regular rate, but substantially more than the usual pre-war rate for off-seasons.

The New York press turned the facts inside out. It insisted that the fur workers and their president, Ben Gold, a Communist, had suffered a defeat. A headline on page one of the N.Y. **World-Telegram** said: "Union Backs 11% Cut For Furriers." The N.Y. **Times** headed its story: "Fur Union Agrees To An 11% Cut."

Fur workers, for the first time protected during slack months, laughed.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS

Red, white and UE



Fred Wright

"It's part of our deal with that Carey outfit. . . ."

EACH worker in the Stupakoff Ceramic Co. plant at Latrobe, Pa., found in his mail last month a letter from the company headlined: "U.S.A. or Russia." The company summoned its workers to "stop Russia" right there in Latrobe by voting for the CIO's new International Union of Electrical Workers and against their old union, the now independent United Electrical Workers.

The company had asked the National Labor Relations Board for an election.

Last week the workers voted 147 for UE; 14 for IUE. And no red flag flew over Stupakoff.

MARITIME UNION

Mayhem on 66th St.

LARRY O'TOOLE, a rank-and-file member of the National Maritime Union (CIO), had had his leg broken in a fight with supporters of union president Joseph Curran. His leg was mending but he was still on crutches last week when he hobbled into a membership meeting in New York. At the door Curran supporters rushed him. O'Toole swung his crutches in defense, then went down and had to be carried to hospital from St. Nicholas Arena.

The dispatch with which O'Toole was handled set the tone for the meeting. It had been called to expel from the union Charles Keith and other leading Curran opponents. Nominations for union officers are scheduled for this month. The trials of the four in committee had been swift and casual. The committee spokesman did not bother to list the charges but summed up: "Opposing the administration, etcetera, etcetera." The meeting that was to execute the committee's verdict was also to the point.

OUT OF ORDER: The hall was packed to its capacity—4,500—and firemen ordered the doors closed. Yet the highest vote totaled less than half that number. One member there claimed that many more voted against expulsion than for it, yet chairman Curran announced the verdict to expel.

The member asked for a recount. Curran strong-arm men, who with police lined all the aisles, rushed him. As he was carried from the hall Curran ruled: "Motion out of order."

One policeman joked with another: "Curran ought to be arrested for robbery."

Opposition leader **Jack Finn** could not be there; he was in a hospital with a knife wound in his leg.

FREEDOMS

RALLY FOR RIGHTS

Everyone's business

THE timorous ones feared that too many would turn up—people of "the wrong sort." Fighting Americans felt that the greater the response to a call for a three-day rally in Washington D.C., Jan. 15-17, the brighter would be the people's hope for civil rights legislation in this session of Congress.

The mobilization was initiated by the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. It had the backing of the AFL, the CIO, Americans for Democratic Action, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, Catholic and Protestant church groups, and all important Negro organizations in the U.S.

UNITY, REGARDLESS: This was the official support. "Illegal" support came from other organizations specifically banned from participation by the sponsoring groups. They were: the Civil Rights Congress, all political parties—especially the Progressive Party and the American Labor Party—and the ten left-wing unions already proscribed by the CIO.

It was a sign of the times that one large group, to remain untainted, barred another large group from participation in a cause of prime concern to both. Progressives refrained from widening the breach. The big job remained: to promote the kind of broad unity that could force enactment of anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and fair employment legislation.

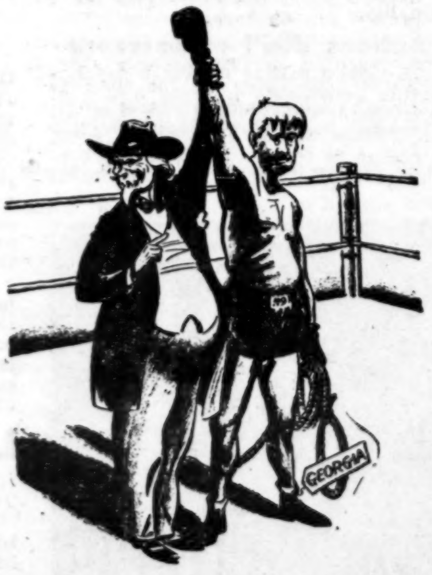
LYNCHING IN 1949

'Especially death'

LYNCH: to inflict punishment, especially death, upon, without the form of law, as when a mob captures and hangs a suspected person.

—Webster's Unabridged Dictionary

STATISTICAL experts, preparing their annual tallies of U.S. lynch victims, differed with Webster and with each other as to the meaning of the word. The Tuskegee Institute said it couldn't be a lynching unless the mob numbered three or more. They counted three such lynchings in 1949 but admitted that their toll excluded "murders reported as being committed by less than three persons; killings by specially deputized posses, who in some instances appear to be composed of irresponsible persons bent not on upholding legal institutions, but on vengeance; prisoners meeting violent deaths in jails after confinement, and other cases of police brutality."



Afro-American, Baltimore, Md.

"The winnah and still champeen . . ."

The American Civil Liberties Union agreed with the Tuskegee definition and the number. The National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, holding that two persons could commit a lynching, counted four.

The **Afro-American,** leading Negro newspaper, had a slightly wider concept of what constitutes a lynching. It listed five for the year and "two deaths so close to the borderline that they might be classed as lynchings."

UNCOUNTED: To the Civil Rights Congress these reports were inadequate. William L. Patterson, its head, contended that at least 30 lynchings could be counted under the dictionary definition.

If beatings, whippings, floggings and violent assaults were included, then no one knew the total figure, which would run into the thousands. A federal anti-lynch law was the crying need of the nation.

MEXICAN-AMERICANS

10,000 for freedom

MEXICAN-AMERICANS in many parts of the Southwest are jim-crowed, restricted to menial jobs, the objects of police brutality as rough as any in Dixie. For months, starting with nothing but determination, the Asociacion Nacional Mexicana-Americana has plodded through five southwestern states setting up local groups, opening state offices, holding state conventions, waging local campaigns against this sort of treatment.

Last week its executive board met for two days in Phoenix, Ariz., and decided the organization had grown up. It set May 5, Mexico's national holiday, as the date for its National Founding Convention in Los Angeles, Calif. Hundreds of delegates, many from Latin communities as far away as the Atlantic seaboard, will adopt a permanent constitution and a national program.

Its general aims, as stated by national president Alfredo Montoya: to express the needs of the people of Mexican extraction in the U.S., and contribute to the general culture and progress of the community, and win equal representation in civic affairs and equal job opportunities.

By convention time the organization hopes to have 10,000 new members. National headquarters have been established in the Mason Theater Building, 127 S. Broadway, Room 203, Los Angeles 12.

The Christoffel case

It holds the key to halting prosecution of labor leaders

ON Monday, Jan. 16, Harold Christoffel, Milwaukee labor leader, will be brought to trial again after once having the case against him thrown out by the U.S. Supreme Court.

In 1946, as president of Local 248 of the United Auto Workers, Christoffel led a bitter 11-month strike against Allis-Chalmers in Milwaukee. The company made charges against Christoffel before the House Committee on Education and Labor, which summoned him and other leaders to appear before it on March 1, 1947.

"I was asked," writes Christoffel in a letter to the GUARDIAN, "if I was or ever had been a member of the Communist Party. To this question I truthfully answered: 'No.' I was promptly indicted for perjury and after a kangaroo court trial was sentenced to from two to six years in prison."

"UNTHINKABLE": O. John Rogge, former Assistant U.S. Attorney General, who defended Christoffel, has described the proceedings against him as "wretched and vindictive persecution."

The Supreme Court overturned the conviction on the ground that the congressional committee had no quorum present when Christoffel was alleged to have committed perjury.

"A tribunal that is not competent is no tribunal," said the Court's decision, "and it is unthinkable that such a body can be the instrument of criminal conviction."

ACCENT ON "PERJURY": In his letter Christoffel writes: "It should be noted that while most of the witch-hunt cases were for contempt, mine was for perjury. Note further that those labor leaders who signed the Taft-Hartley affidavits are subject to perjury prosecution. The Taft-Hartley NLRB has sent several of those affidavits to the Justice Department. It is also to be noted that Harry Bridges and two of his associates are being tried for perjury.

"It should be observed that to re-try this case, the Justice Dept. must get 13 congressmen to swear they were present when I testified. Seven of these would be perjuring themselves; the Supreme Court pointed out that as few as six were actually present.

HAROLD CHRISTOFFEL
A wretched persecution

"I urge all GUARDIAN readers personally to write to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, and to ask their unions to pass motions asking him to drop this frame-up case. By stopping this re-trial, labor can stop the Dept. of Justice from using this case to prosecute other labor leaders who signed the Taft-Hartley affidavits."

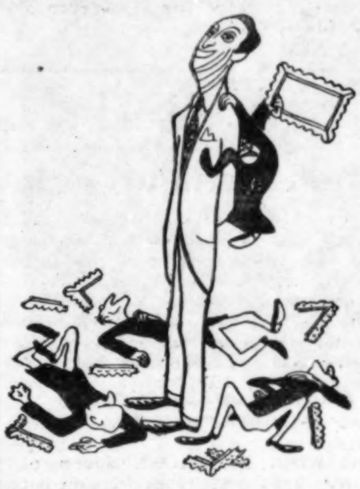
THE TRIALS

HARRY BRIDGES

Pieces of silver

ON May 28, 1949, Mervyn Rathborne went to visit Jean Simons Murray, a friend of his days on the California CIO Council. To welcome him, Mrs. Murray lined up 30 silver dimes. "The working class," she said to her visitor, "owes you a little money."

In the government's case against Harry Bridges, Henry Schmidt and J. R. Robertson, now on trial in San Francisco, Rathborne was to be a star witness. The three officers of the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union are accused of perjury for swearing in Bridges' 1945 naturalization proceedings that he was not a Communist.



SHOW MUST GO ON: On Dec. 29, a San Francisco Federal grand jury met secretly and indicted Jean Murray for conspiring to influence a witness—Rathborne. Also indicted was Betty Magruder Teixeira. It was the same grand jury which had indicted Bridges and his aides. Rathborne accused the two women of threatening to tell his wife a trumped-up story of his having made love to them.

Mrs. Murray's story had little to do with love. She said: "I wanted to find out for certain if he was as low as this and to find out how he ticked. Of course we didn't intend to stop him from testifying. How can you take a puppet out of the government's puppet show?" Mrs. Teixeira added: "He was an old friend and I hated to see him turn stoolpigeon."

The same grand jury failed to indict Manning Johnson and Paul Crouch, the two chief government witnesses so far. The defense had presented evidence showing that both Johnson and Crouch perjured themselves during the trial.

JUDITH COPLON

The dirty business

ON March 4, 1949, Justice Dept. employe Judith Coplon left her office in Washington, D. C., to spend the weekend in New York. Several hours later, she and Russian engineer Valentin Gubitchev were arrested by FBI agents and later indicted for conspiracy to commit espionage. She was convicted by a jury in Washington and is to stand trial on similar charges in New York.

In her bag at the time of her arrest, Judith Coplon had some "restricted" government documents. During her trial in Washington, the government admitted having planted them as "decoys" in the expectation that she would give them to Gubitchev. Miss Coplon never did. She said that William E. Foley, her Justice Dept. superior, had told her to take the documents and study them over the week-end. Foley only admitted telling her that they were "hot and interesting."

The FBI admitted recording Miss Coplon's conversation with Foley and using a transcript as evidence.

COULDN'T MAKE IT OUT: In pretrial motions before Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan in New York last week, Archibald Palmer, Miss Coplon's defense counsel, forced the FBI to produce the discs as well as all other records of tapped telephone conversations. The government grudgingly delivered the records but most of them proved to be unintelligible. Palmer questioned FBI witnesses on whether "they are indistinguishable because of some outside influence." He had hoped to prove that Judith Coplon's boss instructed her to take the incriminating documents found in her purse.

The Supreme Court has ruled out wiretaps as "dirty business" and inadmissible evidence. Palmer has already petitioned the court to set aside Miss Coplon's Washington conviction as based on the same "dirty business."

PATRICK M. MALIN

On Jan. 1 Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, relinquished the post he has held for 30 years to specialize in international civil rights. He will be succeeded on Feb. 1 by Mr. Malin, 46, professor of economics at Swarthmore College, a Quaker and political independent with wide experience with international committees.

In New York last week, Judge Ryan ordered the FBI to prove that it had not gone into "dirty business" to collect evidence against Coplon and Gubitchev.

COMMUNIST LEADERS

Appeal in June

THE U.S. Court of Appeals ruled last week that the appeal of the 11 convicted Communist leaders would be heard between June 5 and 12. Lawyers for the Communists had asked for a postponement until August, submitting that the 5,000,000-word transcript of the trial, which the defendants must have ready or lose the appeal, might not be printed until then. Government attorneys had asked that the appeal be heard in April.

A psychiatrist says

Whittaker Chambers is a 'psychopathic personality'

"ASSUME that the following facts are true. . . ." With these words Claude B. Cross, defense attorney for former State Dept. employe Alger Hiss, launched into a 70-minute question directed to Dr. Carl Binger, associate professor of clinical psychiatry at Cornell University. The facts detailed the life of Whittaker Chambers, former $30,000-a-year senior editor of **Time** and self-confessed "ex-Soviet spy courier."

Chambers had accused Hiss of giving him secret State Dept. documents for transmission to Russia. Hiss was on trial for perjury for denying the charge. It was the second trial—the jury in the first disagreed but had stood 8 to 4 for conviction. Then Federal Judge Samuel H. Kaufman had refused to allow a psychiatric opinion on Chambers' credibility. Now Judge Henry W. Goddard allowed Dr. Binger to testify. It was the first time in the history of the Federal courts that psychiatric testimony concerning a witness had been allowed.

This is how ex-Communist, ex-spy Chambers looks to one of the nation's top psychiatrists, as told to the court by Dr. Binger, who had sat studying Chambers' behavior during five days of the first trial:

"MR. CHAMBERS is suffering from a condition known as psychopathic personality, a disorder of character, the outstanding features of which are amoral and asocial behavior. . . .

"Amoral conduct is behavior that does not take into account the ordinary accepted conventions of morality; asocial conduct has no regard for the good of society and the individual and is therefore frequently destructive of both. . . .

"The symptoms are variegated. They include chronic, persistent and repetitious lying, stealing and deception. Other symptoms are abnormal sexuality, alcoholism, panhandling, vagabondage, an inability to form regular habits—and a tendency to make false accusations. Pathological lying and pathological accusations are frequently found in the psychopathic personality.

Actions don't make sense

"A person suffering from a psychopathic personality is quite aware of what he is doing, but he doesn't always know why he is doing it. Such a person is frequently impulsive and bizarre. His actions do not make much sense according to common standards. He lives in fantasy and in imagination not understandable in common sense. . . .

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

What is fancy, what is real . . .

"The psychopathic holds some kind of middle ground between the psychotic and the neurotic. The psychotic is the victim of mental derangement, while the neurotic is usually characterized by fear and anxiety neuroses. Many psychopaths manifest the same symptoms as psychotics and neurotics.

Sees his fancies as true

"I do not know, and no one knows, the cause of psychopathic personality. It begins usually in early youth and usually lasts through a lifetime. The sufferer is convinced of the truth and validity of his own fancies, without respect to the outer realities. He plays a role—he may be a hero one moment and a gangster the next, but he acts as though the fancied situation were true.

"He will claim friendships which do not exist and will make false accusations because he is under constant compulsion to make his fancies come true. He is amazingly isolated and egocentric and he never knows how other persons feel."

LAST June 13, GUARDIAN carried an account of Chambers' personality by a person who knew him. These are quotes from that account:

"I was struck by two things about him (Chambers) right away: one was his conspiratorial way of talking in so soft a voice that nobody heard our discussion, and the other was his extreme friendliness. . . .

"One night he invited me to his house in a remote suburb. To my astonishment there was a big picture of Hitler hanging in his room. I asked him what was the idea, and he said: 'Well, I never know when my room will be searched. It's just protective coloring.' . . .

"Just what his work was he didn't make clear, and from his veiled references and mysterious behavior and frequent admonitions to me not to talk so loud because others might hear, I was quite baffled. I didn't know whether he was kidding me, kidding himself, or telling the truth. . . ."

PRESS

ROY HOWARD REAPS

The Sun sets

WHEN 1,200 employes of the 116-year-old N. Y. **Sun** reported to work Jan. 4, they found this notice: "This is the saddest day of my life as I am sure it is in yours . . . Every avenue was explored to keep this organization going, but to no avail. Most sincerely, Tom Dewart."

The publisher of the staunchly conservative, crusty but competent afternoon paper had sold out to the Scripps-Howard **World-Telegram** for an unannounced price. While **Sun** workers stood around glumly, wondering where to look for jobs, the last editions blamed it all on "union demands." Then, in its valedictory, the **Sun** boasted that it had "fought Populism, Socialism, Communism, governmental extravagance . . . and that form of governmental paternalism which eats into the marrow of private initiative and industry . . . We have fought a good fight and

(Continued on following page)

CAN YOU HELP?

See Page 11

. . . Or are your pockets lined with fish hooks?

—Pay your bill—

(Continued from preceding page)

held unswervingly to the true faith."

The **World-Telegram**, which took over the Sun's name and some of its features the next day, could make the same boasts. The Scripps-Howard chain thus added another scalp to its belt (it had absorbed the famous N.Y. **World** in early depression days) and continued the trend toward concentration of U.S. daily newspapers in fewer and more powerful hands. (From 1909 to 1945 the number of daily papers had declined from a peak of 2,600 to 1,750 and was still going down.)

Congratulations, FP

THIRTY years ago, 100 labor editors met in Chicago, decided the labor press needed a news service that was honest. Result was the cooperative Federated Press, which celebrated its birthday Jan. 2.

FP has frequently angered labor-baiters and labor-fakers with its hard-hitting factual coverage. It's 30th birthday is a landmark in labor journalism.

GUARDIAN subscribed early last year, buying the most honest news service it could find for its readers. Many of GUARDIAN's stories are sparked or filled in by FP correspondents.

To the tower, lads!

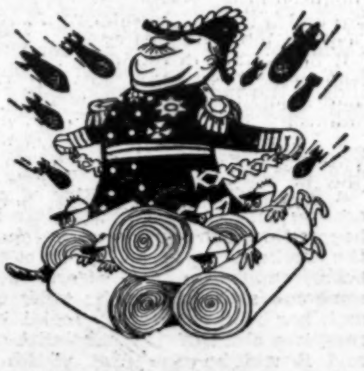
ATOMIC jitters have some people down, but not Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago **Tribune**. His "complete plans" for the defense of the Tribune Tower have now been revealed.

A full-page cutaway drawing of the tower, which rises 456 feet above N. Michigan Av., shows how the 3,869 inhabitants will huddle behind rolls of newsprint. The idea was thought up by John W. Park, McCormick's production manager. Crouching behind rolls, **Tribune** workers would theoretically be protected from atomic radiation.

HE ROLLS HIS OWN: A hitch developed: normal-size rolls wouldn't go through the doors. So the colonel ordered his Canadian paper mills to deliver special atom-bomb rolls. He is particularly proud of a warning whistle installed on the seventh floor. Its 200 pounds of brightly-polished brass once emitted nautical sounds from the S.S. Yale, an ancient California coastal vessel recently scrapped.

Other details of the colonel's plans include a "command post and nerve center" on the second floor, "remote control radiation detection devices," and stockpiling of countless "emergency" items, including aspirin.

BELLS, BELLS, BELLS: With all this, the colonel is miffed at the U.S. government. One **Tribune** reporter, seeking advice, "was virtually laughed out of the Pentagon Building." The present plans are McCormick's very own.



But one of his pet ideas for a general warning was a dud. He wanted to ring all Chicago telephones simultaneously. Engineers said it would require so much current that the cables would melt.

$1 of your pocket change'll
Crown you as a Guardian Angel.
—Pay your bill—

EDUCATION

SCHOLARSHIPS

Cash vs. ideals

THOUGH Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen Dumont worked for the U.S. State Dept. he believed that the only true American was native-born, non-Jewish and non-Catholic. When Dumont died in 1939, he left $140,000 to Lafayette College, his alma mater in Easton, Pa. The money was for scholarships for Americans as defined by Dumont.

Last month Lafayette College received a first instalment of the bequest: $13,506. At first authorities said they would accept the money "although we don't like the strings attached that smack of religious discrimination." Discrimination in scholarships, they said, "are not uncommon."

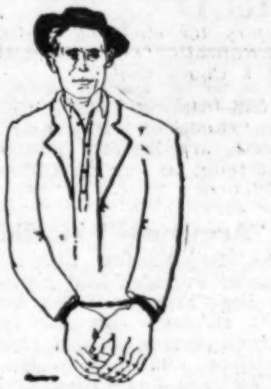
Last week after the bequest had been given some notoriety, Lafayette changed its mind. The college said that the legacy's "intimations of discrimination" were contrary to its ideals.

HEIL COLUMBIA: Less idealistic was Columbia University's President Dwight D. Eisenhower. He did nothing about a fellowship limited to Iowans of the "Caucasian race." Last November, the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People had asked him to remove the 20-year-old "blot from the escutcheon of a great university."

UTAH

Joe Hill 'dies' again

ARNOLD Mesches earned his living teaching art at the Art Barn School sponsored by the Junior League in Salt Lake City, Utah. In his free time, Mesches would do a picture of Joe Hill for the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, a mural for a union hall, a campaign poster for the Progressive Party, a cartoon against rent hikes. The art school trustees watched and waited.



Arnold Mesches, '49

JOE HILL

The truth will never die

Last summer, two teachers were fired from the Salt Lake City public schools for Progressive Party activity. The Civil Rights Congress fought for their rights, succeeded in having one of them reinstated. Mesches was the CRC spokesman. The art school trustees promptly fired Mesches for "meddling."

Students and others protested in the name of academic and artistic freedom. Said one member of the school board: "You can have the Bill of Rights—we have the right to hire and fire."

RELIGION

'CHRISTIAN AMERICANS'

Reds in the pulpit

"ALAS, the secularized religion being taught in scores of American seminaries, and called Christianity by those who teach it, really is much like the teachings of communism."

The complaint came from a new organization, the American Council of Christian Laymen, Madison, Wis., which wants to "foster Christian-Americanism" and help laymen "recapture control of their churches" from the clergy.

IS SCARLETT RED? Episcopalian Bishops Charles K. Gilbert, Edward L. Parsons and William Scarlett were cited as the kind of dangerous reds who belong to the American Civil Liberties Union, the Socialist Party, the People's Institute of Applied Religion and 411 other "God-hating, un-American organizations." A pamphlet of the Council asked: "How red is the Federal Council of Churches?" (John Foster Dulles is among its most prominent officers).

The new organization is against "FEPC bills which seek to control men's thoughts by Gestapo methods, and would force a Christian preacher or business man to give equal consideration to atheists, Jews, Mohammedans, etc., when hiring workers."

Founder of the group is Verne P. Kaub, recently retired from the public relations staff of the Wisconsin Power and Light Co.

SCIENCE

Stars without stripes

THE International Astronomical Union was looking for a place to meet in 1951. Invitations were extended by Soviet scientific societies and by the American Astronomical Society. Late last month, the U.S. society withdrew its bid. Dr. J. J. Nassau, its head, explained sadly: "We did not want to compete with the Russians' invitation. Distinguished foreign scientists in the past have been unable to secure admission to the U.S." Dr. Otto Struve of Yerkes Observatory, Williams Bay, Wis., added: "Many times the action is taken without explanation. We must not surrender to political powers our right to control our own thoughts."

The U.S.S.R. had put out the welcome mat for scientists from "all participating organizations"—politics no barrier. The star-gazers will gather in Leningrad.

Max Werner

China is a great military power

FORMOSA'S inescapable fate is only a particular case in a very big theme. This theme is China's rise to the rank of a great military power. Without bias, we must take stock of the fact that like the Russian revolution the Chinese revolution has generated military power.

China has the second biggest land army in the world. In their civil war, Communist China's fighting forces developed swiftly from guerrilla fighting to regular army and large scale operations with big units. The campaign of Nanking and the Yangtze's valley was waged on a classic pattern: the best U.S. and European commanders could have professional satisfaction looking at the double envelopment and annihilation of Chiang's main forces northwest of Nanking. With modern weapons the Chinese army of today will become a modern army; and it can get modern weapons.

The Soviet-Chinese bloc is the strongest anti-atomic alliance in the world. China gives to the Soviet bloc an Asiatic continental rear practically secure from atomic danger. At the same time, China is bolstered from the north by the Soviet military base on the Manchurian frontier.

NOT SO SURPRISING: Our ability to be surprised is immense; yet the development in Asia was predicted 23 years ago by the brilliant British strategist Gen. Fuller. Fuller is a British ultra-nationalist and semi-fascist, but he is one of the founders of modern mechanized war—an original mind with wit and imagination, a kind of rightist military G. B. Shaw. Writing in 1926, he stressed that a rise of industrialization and education would promote the new military power in Asia. And he drew the picture of the military strengthening of the east as against the background of the military weakening of western Europe.

Today, while the idea of the mass army, of the armed people, is being rejected in the west, it is accepted and carried out in the east. Britain and France cannot muster mass armies, but China can. The reason is not merely that China has more manpower.

British and French strategy of today does away with the risks and the cost of land war, while modern China has developed the concept of land strategy. So it happens that China today takes over the heritage of western Europe's military science, while western Europe abandons it.

USELESS ISLANDS: It is clear therefore that an attempt to cut off Formosa from China would be a completely unrealistic adventure. Militarily and politically, it simply will not work. The State Dept. paper on Formosa stated very reasonably that U.S. policy makers cannot believe in this venture. From Chiang's total bankruptcy not a single square inch can be salvaged against the resistance of the young Chinese power.

Besides, the case of Formosa must lead to reconsidering the entire matter of off-shore bases. These bases are strategically outdated. Some of our air strategists, like Generals Knerr and de Seversky, are quite realistically rejecting island bases off European-Asiatic shores as strongholds for U.S air power.

Whether Formosa, or Japan, or even Britain, island bases cannot hold out against the changed conditions of war—against intensified submarine blockade and concentrated air and guided-missiles assault from the continent. Bases must be covered by distances; but the European-Asiatic islands are exposed to a degree which makes them strategically useless.

THE WORLD

CHINA

Britain recognizes; U.S. out on limb

IN the British Foreign Office in Whitehall Minister of State Hector McNeil formally notified the Chinese Nationalist Ambassador in London that Britain would recognize the new People's Republic of China. The Ambassador, Dr. Cheng Tien-hsi, retired to his Embassy. There, amid fine examples of Chinese art, he demonstrated his aplomb by discoursing to reporters on the merits of various kinds of tea, and quoting Mark Anthony's funeral oration for Caesar.

Britain's announcement that it intended to recognize the Chinese People's Republic came the same day that President Truman slapped down Republican hotheads. These had demanded outright U. S. seizure of Formosa, or at least the dispatch of military missions to aid Chiang Kai-shek in a last-ditch stand on that island bastion 100 miles off the coast of China. Aware of the facts about what could and could not be done in Formosa (see Max Werner, p. 9), the President said the U.S. wants no bases or privileges there at this time and will provide neither military aid nor advice.

WANT WAR? Republicans were outraged. They cried that the bipartisan foreign policy front had been broken. They shouted "Munich!" at the President. In the Senate Tom Connally (D-Tex.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, protested the Republican outbreak, shouting: "Of course, we are against communism! We are all against communism!" Sen. Brien McMahon (D.-Conn.) asked his Republican colleagues bluntly: "Do you want to go to war for China, or don't you?"

"Argument" in mid-air

The Republicans didn't like the question: Formosa had provided them with the "argument" for which their recent strategy pow-pow in Chicago had been seeking. At that meeting, Guy Gabrielson, chairman of the Republican National Committee, declared: "If you have to have an argument to get people to the polls, we're going to start an argument." Unwilling to quarrel with the Truman cold-war and arms program, the Republicans settled on China, where the Administration had admitted defeat in last summer's White Paper.

With the inspiration and guidance of Gen. Douglas MacArthur in Tokyo and some backing from Truman's own National Security Coucil, Republican leaders—including Herbert Hoover, Sens. Robert A. Taft of Ohio, William Knowland of California, H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey—demanded intervention in China to save Chiang Kai-shek and Formosa.

The State Dept., as reluctant as the Republicans to concede the victory of Communist China, saw the Republican line leading the U.S. into conflict with Britain and its other Marshall Plan satellites, and into a state of war with new China. It had no choice but to cry: hands off.

LAKE SUCCESS AT LAST: British recognition and the President's announcement opened the door to the eventual transfer of China's UN Security Council seat to the new regime. British recognition was expected to be followed by that of France, Norway and Egypt. With Russia, Yugoslavia, and India already recognizing, this would give a majority of seven of the 11 votes for the transfer.

This month, Nationalist representative Dr. T. F. Tsiang is chairman of the Council and can probably block any action to unseat himself. Should the U.S. try to block the transfer after the majority of the Security Council has recognized New China, it will have to cast a veto to do so.

The Japanese dilemma

Headaches remained. Soon to be faced was the question of a peace treaty with Japan. The State and Defense Depts. were reported at odds—State wanting an early treaty (excluding Russia and Communist China, if possible) and Defense ready to procrastinate since its chief concern is securing bases in Japan and Okinawa.

WHO'S CONFUSING? While the Japanese debated granting military bases to the U.S., MacArthur cryptically announced that Japan, in renouncing war, had not renounced her "inalienable right of self-defense against attack." The N. Y. **Herald Tribune** quoted Japanese who thought the general meant Japan could rely on the armed might of the U.S. and the great U.S. air and sea bases developed in the last four years.

How the U.S. proposed to fit Japan into the fast-changing Pacific pattern remained confused. U.S. Ambassador-at-Large Jessup was on what Knowland called "a slow boat" to attend a meeting of U.S. Far East diplomats at Bangkok, Siam, in February. The Joint Chiefs of Staff were scheduled to call on MacArthur in Tokyo at the same time. British Commonwealth Foreign Ministers were to meet in Ceylon Jan. 9. All the meetings were aimed at halting communism.

CHINA-SOVIET TRADE: In Moscow, China's President Mao Tse-tung discussed credits and a trade pact with Soviet leaders. He will remain several weeks to discuss other common interests and problems, including the friendship treaty signed by Moscow with Chiang in 1945.

Life in West Germany today

American flunkies fostering hatred of Jews and Negroes

GUARDIAN special correspondence
FRANKFURT

"LISTEN, sister! If you know what's good for you, from now on you'd better not be seen talking to Negro soldiers. You know the name we have for the kind of girls who associate with Negroes."

The threat was made recently by a U.S. Army officer to a girl working for the U.S. Military Government at Frankfurt. It was repeated later by a top civilian employe.

What had the girl done?

TREATMENT FOR DEMOCRACY: One day she was shopping in the PX and a Negro soldier offered to help carry her bundles. As they walked out an officer spotted them, barred the way and demanded to see the girl's identification papers. Knowing what might happen, she had to show them. It is not unusual for an officer seeing a white girl with a Negro soldier to have the girl arrested as a prostitute and sent to a hospital for a VD check.

Officially such incidents are condemned, but Military Government continues to harbor anti-Negro discrimination, anti-Semitism, blackmarketeering and prostitution.

OCCUPATION THEMES: This correspondent was in the country only a few hours when he heard an American civilian instructing a German on the "big part the Jews play in New York gangster operations." An office girl told me that Jews and "other foreigners" run the black market in Germany, and a drunken American soldier threatened violence and called me a "dirty Jew-boy."

The over-all impression in the U.S. zone is one of corruption. One cannot escape the sight of prostitutes infesting the center of Frankfurt, drunken GI's swearing and insulting German women, and black market operators boldly doing business in the open. Officers and high civilian personnel ride around in shiny American cars with little respect for pedestrians.

Culture consists mainly of violent American movies. Newspaper stands are adequately supplied with **Time, Life** and **Newsweek** and German picture magazines with sensational stories glorifying the Hitler era. Military recreation centers are even better supplied with detective thrillers and comic books.

The black market is the chief topic of conversation. At the Frankfurt Press Club, U. S. newspaper men pass the time talking about how many marks they are getting illegally for their dollars.

BRITAIN

Don't snatch, Sam

IN September, 1948, the British Colonial Office set up the Colonial Development Corporation to promote investment in its overseas dependencies. The CDC asked the World Bank for a $10,000,000 to buy railroad and road-building equipment and other machinery in the U.S. Later the sum asked was cut to $5,000,000. The World Bank hedged an offer with conditions.

Last week, the CDC broke off negotiations on the ground that the Bank's demands for exhaustive periodic information were "onerous and even more exacting than those demanded by the British Treasury or the Colonial Office." Britain didn't want the U.S. auditing its colonial accounts. The U.S., it was equally clear, did not favor a backward-areas development program under British auspices: the World Bank, dominated by the U.S., seemed to have deliberately made its conditions unacceptable to the British. U.S. business wanted for itself alone the profits and privileges to be derived from "technical and financial assistance" to backward peoples.

This was only one skirmish in the Anglo-U.S. war raging all over the world, sometimes under cover, sometimes bursting into the open. Britain and the U.S. were fighting over oil, trade, atomic energy, U.S. military rights in Britain under the Atlantic Pact, and China.

BLUE BLOOD WHILE YOU WAIT: Five Socialist members of Parliament who had done their bit to preserve the empire and British capitalism were elevated to the peerage last week. Tapped for a baronetcy was the president of the National Union of Railwaymen, Joseph Henderson. Made a viscount was Defense Minister A. V. Alexander, who started his career as an office boy.

Freeze gets hotter

IT took 5,000 words for the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress to explain to affiliated unions last month why they shouldn't demand wage increases. The TUC freeze policy, adopted after devaluation of the pound, was encountering an economic temperature considerably above freezing.

Nearly 3,000,000 workers are defying the policy, The Amalgamated Engineering Union and Electrical Trades Union flatly rejected it. Said Walter Stevens of the electrical workers: "If only a quarter of these undistributed profits ($10,000,000,000 in 1948) were to be shared equally among all wage earners, each of us would get a 17% wage increase."

PROFITS—DON'T TOUCH: The TUC report mildly suggested that the government do something to curb profits. But even the "increased tax on profits" voted after devaluation has been exposed as an empty gesture. According to the venerable magazine **The Accountant:** "The tax is not for the purpose of raising revenue; it is simply to induce the mass of workers to refrain from making higher wage claims. . . ."

From London, GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer explained that British trade union leaders have abandoned socialism "in favor of the AFL policy of collaborating with the capitalist state in the hope of securing some concessions for the workers. In a period of capitalist boom, capitalism can afford to make some concessions. But the welfare state as it has been created by social democracy is a child of the capitalist system and it will be the first victim when capitalism is in difficulties."

THERE'S A FIGHT ON: The Labor Party program for the next elections, Schaffer said, "is based blatantly on consolidation of the alliance with the capitalists. But the rank-and-file trade unionist knows there is a class struggle because he wages it in his day-to-day life, and understands that a union leadership which accepts wage freezing and collaboration with the employers is not fighting for his well-being.

"He still supports the Labor government because he fears the naked reac-

(Continued on following page)

"It's later than you think"
Pay your Guardian bill on time—
Eliminate such an awful rhyme.

(Continued from preceding page)

tion of the Tories. But the enthusiasm which swept the Labor Party to power in 1945 is missing."

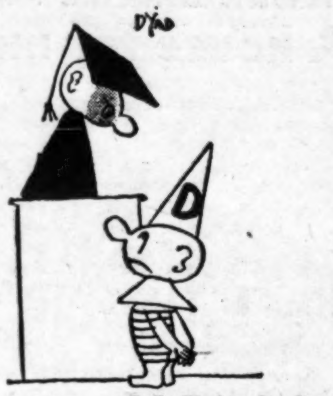
FRANCE

Humpty Dumpty

IT would take very little to topple the government of predominantly left-wing France, a coalition of right-wingers glued together by an amalgam of anti-communism, the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact.

The U.S. had "advised" the government to balance its budget: the strain seemed great enough to tear the fragile structure apart. Premier Georges Bidault presented the National Assembly with a record $6,500,000,000 budget which would meet the deficit through increased taxation.

ANTI-TAX: French businessmen favor the wage freeze as a sacrifice by the workers but oppose additional taxes. Edouard Daladier, pre-war appeaser of Hitler and leader of a Radical Socialist (in France, conservative) faction, tried to parlay the businessmen's opposition into a popular movement. If Bidault failed to get his budget approved, he would have to go to the voters; and Daladier, betting on a world-wide swing to the right, thinks his party's chances are good in an election.



Daily Worker, London

"Please, teacher, who is the Premier of France this week?"

CALENDAR

New York

FUTURAMA, concert and social party, at Freedom Theater, Czechoslovak Workers House, 347 E. 72d St., Sat., Sun., Jan. 14, 15. Curtain at 9 a.m.

●

CHILDREN'S PARTICIPATION programs featuring Pete Seeger, sponsored by ALP, 6th ADN, Jan. 8, 15, 22, 29, Feb. 5, 12. Town and Village School of the Dance, 367 First Av. (near 21st St.) 3-4 p.m. Six concerts—$8.

●

HEINE IN OUR WORLD evening, sponsored by German American, devoted to poet Heinrich Heine. Sun., Jan. 15, Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th St., 8 p.m. Tickets $1.20, $1.80, from German American, 305 Broadway, CO 7-0498, or at the door.

Chicago

FRIENDS OF FATHER CLARENCE PARKER, PP and CRC worker, invited to party in his honor at 441 Drexel Sat., Jan. 14. Admission 75c.

●

The Calendar is for your use. Send notices of coming events attention: Calendar, NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

The Socialists had been forced by their restless rank-and-file to demand a monthly "special bonus" in place of wage raises through collective bargaining, which had been outlawed. Finance Minister Maurice Petsche, warning that a bonus might lead to difficulties with Marshall Plan administrators, opposed the idea. On that rock other fragile French cabinets have splintered.

HUMPTY DUMPTY'S PROGRESS: Bidault told the Assembly: "France is not alone: a harsh world is observing us." Then he asked the Assembly for three votes of confidence to signify approval of his budget. He got them all, the last by a margin of four votes.

Despite the show of "confidence," Bidault still looked like an eggshell Humpty Dumpty teetering on a wall. In New York, the **Herald Tribune** compared him with Christian in **Pilgrim's Progress.** He had gone through the Valley of the Shadow of Death and the Slough of Despond, but seemed destined never to reach the Celestial City.

EGYPT

Trumped king

CHUBBY King Farouk of Egypt had embarked on two adventures within a few months. In one he sent his troops for an easy conquest of Israel. They came back a sad, defeated and bedraggled lot. In the other, he engaged in some fanciful imperial romance by stealing the 16-year-old fiancee of an Egyptian UN employe. He sent his police to kill any lingering notions of romance in the young man. They said he could not leave the country except as a single man.

Egyptians forgot neither the king's defeat in war nor his victory over the young man in love. In last week's election they gave a three-to-one majority to the Wafdist Party led by Mustafa el Nahas Pasha, long disliked by Farouk. Nahas was British-backed Premier from 1942-1944. An ambitious wife had involved him in a series of embarrassing financial adventures then, but Egyptians had forgiven.

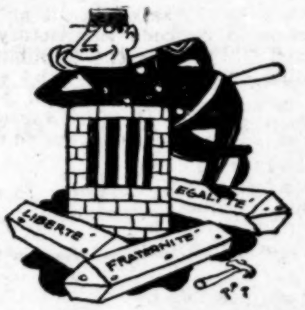
The Wafdist Party is nationalist, favors mild agrarian reform and will probably abolish the press and mail censorship established at the time of the Israel war. Containing widely separated left-wing and right-wing factions, it is the nearest thing to a popular party in Egypt where politics is mostly personal.

VIET-NAM

The dirty war

SINCE Dec. 19, 1946, some 150,000 French troops, including many ex-Nazis serving in the Foreign Legion, have wallowed in Viet-Nam (French Indo-China) trying to defeat an independence army led by Ho Chi Minh. By last month's third anniversary of fighting, the French position was hopeless. Viet-Nam troops occupied 85% of the country.

Frenchmen called it "the dirty war." Longshoremen at many French ports refused to load Viet-Nam-bound ships; women's and youth groups urged Frenchmen not to fight. The cost in money was estimated at $500,000,000 a year. The cost in lives was growing daily. Most of the victims were young men whose youth had saved them in World War II.



$1 of your pocket change'll Crown you as a Guardian Angel. —Pay your bill—

JESSUP TO THE RESCUE: Even normally pro-French Roman Catholics in Viet-Nam were supporting Ho Chi Minh and protested to the embarrassed Vatican about French atrocities. French military leaders and their puppet "Emperor" Bao Dai were looking desperately for an out. All signs pointed to the U.S.

The State Dept.'s Philip C. Jessup, on a Far Eastern "tour," was scheduled to reach Viet-Nam in February. Bao Dai plans to seek U.S. recognition and military aid for his regime. In Washington, President Truman was reported instructing his advisers to plan how French "crack troops" in Indo-China could be given military aid. Experts thought he meant besieged French troops in Viet-Nam.

GERMANY

Meaning of treason

IN 1945, Britain, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. agreed at Potsdam to the political and economic unity of Germany. Four years later, the U.S. and Britain set up a separate West German government at Bonn in which talk of Germany unity became "Landesverrat" (high treason).

During Christmas week West Germans found a "traitor" in their midst. He was Pastor Martin Niemoeller, head of the Evangelical Church in the states of Hesse and Nassau, a World War I submarine commander and an anti-Nazi inmate of Hitler's concentration camps. He called West Germany a Roman Catholic state "conceived in Rome and born in Washington," and said that Germans wanted a united Germany, even if it meant a Communist Germany.

West German editors fired a salvo of outraged editorials and rushed "public opinion polls" proving Niemoeller wrong. Niemoeller himself was preparing to leave for East Germany to continue his fight.

The way to start the mid-century right

JUST before the holidays a year ago, the editors of the GUARDIAN wrote a letter to our readers—all 7,500 of them! The GUARDIAN was then barely two months old.

We asked—and got—the enthusiastic cooperation of literally thousands of our original subscribers in helping boost GUARDIAN circulation.

As a direct result, this past season's holiday letter from the editors went to 75,000 readers.*

THIS ten-fold growth in a single year is not only a terrific testimonial to the loyalty and legwork of the GUARDIAN readers: it is a significant indication that a far, far larger readership lies immediately within our reach if we together can and will but reach out for it.

We would like you to become a year-round "reader-agent" for the GUARDIAN.

We have established a special discount subscription rate of $1 a year, less than two cents a copy for the full 52 issues.

On each subscription you send us, we pay you a 25% commission. If you can't use the commissions, pass them on to some individual or group.

A TEN-FOLD response this year, starting from a base of 75,000 instead of 7,500, will put us breathlessly close to our oft-expressed goal of a million GUARDIAN readers —which would be one whale of a way to ring in 1950, the mid-passage year of our long-fought-for Century of Progress.

Are you with us?

What we hope for most, to start the mid-century right, is your earnest resolve to bring the GUARDIAN to the attention of your friends and associates who are as strong for peace and progress as you are. Say it with subs, right here and now!

'I hereby highly resolve to help—

build the GUARDIAN in 1950!'

Enter the following subscriptions to NATIONAL GUARDIAN at the special rate of $1 for a full year.

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☐ Send further details of the "reader-agent" plan.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray Street, New York 7

***If you get your GUARDIAN via newsstand, bookshop or bundle order, you did not receive our holiday letter announcing the GUARDIAN's "reader-agent" plan for 1950. Use the accompanying coupon for your starting batch of new readers. Upon receipt, we will send you a supply of postpaid subscription cards and further details of the "reader-agent" plan.**

DOLLAR STRETCHER

On buying snowsuits

WHEN you shop for a snowsuit for your child you can find an abundance of two-piece garments decorated with embroidery and applique. But you'll get far more satisfaction from one-piece suits, which don't pull apart at the waist.

One-piece snowsuits are also simpler to put on and encourage a child to dress himself. Moreover, they're less bulky to wear. Best type of one-piece suit is wind-resistant cotton-poplin shell with a detachable wool jersey lining; both pieces can be washed separately. This type is not always to be found; the second choice is cotton poplin with non-detachable wool lining, which must be dry-cleaned or washed with much care. Either is more comfortable than the heavy all-wool garment. They're warmer, too, because several layers of light clothing provide better insulation than one thick layer.

BRIGHT FOR SAFETY: Snowsuits with zippers at ankles and cuffs are more expensive but not essential. They make it easier to dress the child, but knitted cuffs are warmer. Check to see that the knitted cuffs have good elasticity. Bright colors are preferable to help motorists see kids more quickly.

Renewing the water-repellency of snowsuits and other clothes is less of a problem with several preparations that can be applied at home. These include Drax, Aqua-Pruf, and Bone-Dry. The first two are sprayed on; with Bone-Dry you have to dip the garments.

Buys in men's overcoats

CLEARANCES of women's suits and coats started immediately after Christmas, and cut-price closeouts of men's overcoats can be expected late in January, with progressively sharper slashes throughout February.

Men will find the sturdiest fabrics at the lowest prices are generally tweed, cheviot or alpacuna. Higher-priced overcoatings like wool suede are warm and light, but the soft pile gets shabby quickly. Alpacuna is a wool fabric with a cotton backing. At one time it commanded high prices, but now that the federal wool-labeling law requires its part-cotton content to be revealed, alpacuna has lost favor and the price has dropped drastically. At its present low tag, alpacuna offers good value. The cotton content actually adds strength to the fabric.

Television prices cut

DURING the Christmas shopping season, prices of television sets were firm. Now manufacturers have announced sweeping cuts, especially on larger-screen sets. RCA lopped $95 off its 16-inch table set. The new price of $299.95 is one of the lowest for a set of this size. Hallicrafters has lowered its 12-inch table set to $199 from $239. Philco reduced its 12½-inch set to $199.95—$60 less. Zenith and Admiral are expected to announce reductions shortly. (You can pare these prices further by additional discounts from 10% to 20% from discount houses or neighborhood dealers.)

Manufacturers explain the price cuts were made possible by use of multi-purpose tubes and production efficiencies. But many people who bought their sets for Christmas, in the belief that they were paying a fair price, have every right to question the good faith and pricing policies of the manufacturers.

Don't worship rags

The present temper of mass hysteria brings to mind something Mark Twain wrote in his book **"A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court.** Here it is:

"You see, my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its officeholders. The country is the real thing, the substantial thing, the eternal thing; it is the thing to watch over, and care for, and be loyal to; institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags—that is a loyalty of unreason, it is pure animal.

"I was from Connecticut, whose Constitution declares 'that all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their benefit; and that they have at all times an undeniable and indefeasible right to alter their form of government in such a manner as they may think expedient.'

"Under that gospel, the citizen who thinks he sees that the commonwealth's political clothes are worn out, and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit, is disloyal; he is a traitor. That he may be the only one who thinks he sees this decay does not excuse him; it is his duty to agitate anyway, and it is the duty of the others to vote him down if they do not see the matter as he does."

Joseph A. Prachar

To agitate for America's new suit, your friends who agree with Mark Twain need the weapon of facts. They need the GUARDIAN.

Who wants an antique shop?

A house for man's happiness

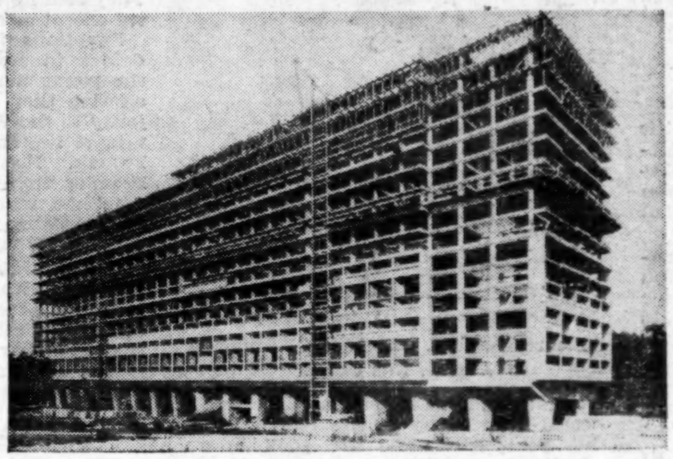

Photo courtesy French Embassy Information Division

RADIANT CITY

There will be light, there will be air

By Stanley Karnow

GUARDIAN staff correspondent

PARIS

WHEN the French architect who calls himself "Le Corbusier" (his name is Charles Jeanneret) visited the U.S. before the war, he came away with professional disgust, commenting: "New York is a catastrophe—the skyscrapers are too small."

You might expect Le Corbusier to be something like a Hollywood character interested only in the "colossal." Actually, people are struck by his humility. But when he acts, unexpected results ensue.

Le Corbusier's latest example of the unexpected is his "Radiant City" in the port of Marseille—a 330-apartment building which is a community in itself. "Radiant City" isn't a brand name; it's the architect's own description of a structure that is nine-tenths windows.

SOMETHING TO LIVE IN: If "Radiant City" were merely a new twist in modern building it would require nothing more than a few technical details: for example, an air-conditioning system which heats in winter and cools in summer, or the "Main St." running along the ninth floor which will contain everything from a butcher shop and post office to a florist shop. There will be an outdoor stadium on the roof, a swimming pool, restaurant, cafes.

But Le Corbusier's building is more than a structure—it's the realization of a social idea.

"Man's habitation," he has repeated, "must march with the evolution of manners and morals. As society moves more and more towards collectivism, man must be given living quarters which answer the needs of that contemporary social phenomenon—the group."

THEY CALL HIM NAMES: Individualist France has been quick to respond to such an idea—not always favorably. Le Corbusier has been called everything from a crackpot to a Communist and his project "an overgrown barracks," a "college dormitory" or simply a "two-headed calf."

Le Corbusier's calm answer is clear: Sooner or later people will have to make the social change necessary for living in the modern machine age. "I'm building so that people are not stifled by industrial civilization," he says.

When people start moving into "Radiant City" next year, they will be forced to alter their way of living.

OUT WITH THE CORNERS: Thus families are asked to get rid of Great-Uncle Pierre's Breton's cabinet, which measures 12 feet high and dates back to Louis XIV, or Aunt Martha's four-poster bed which Marie Antoinette's nephew's cousin slept in. Closets are built into walls, beds will be simple divans. Utility or sentimentality? Take your choice, says Le Corbusier: If you want to moon about the past, go live in an antique shop.

The architect has strong support from French Minister of Reconstruction Claudius Petit, who has braved political criticism. "If the government took the initiative in this kind of building," he told critics, "we could put up things like this for less than the cost of ordinary apartment houses."

Le Corbusier receives so much criticism he has no choice but to accept it. "It helps us to perfect our work," he says stoically. But he lets none of it go unanswered.

One of the most scathing attacks came from public health officials who, although they had never visited it, concluded that "Radiant City" wouldn't have enough air or light and was on the whole "a dangerous adventure."

"No light? No air?" Le Corbusier broke loose. "They make me laugh. There's the whole heaven with all its light. Look, I've put it everywhere. Here it is as God willed it—a house for man's happiness."

Pots & Pocketbooks

453 years of cod

By Charlotte Parks

Here's to good old Boston,
The land of the bean and the cod,
Where the Lowells speak only to Cabots,
And the Cabots speak only to God.

IN MANY European countries, codfish is associated with holiday eating. Italians and Scandinavians have dozens of fancy ways of preparing it.

Cabot, the ancestor of the Boston Cabots, discovered the codbanks in 1497 and fishermen brought dried cod to the Pilgrim mothers. Codfish balls and fish chowder are typical American dishes—the cheapest of good eating and full of vim, vigor and vitamins.

Codfish balls

2 cups mashed potatoes
1 cup dried codfish
1 egg

Pour hot water over fish, let stand two minutes, drain. Mold the mixture in small balls and roll in flour or bread crumbs. Fry in deep fat or form into flat patties and saute in margarine. Even less trouble — place mixture in glass pie dish and slip into hot oven for ten minutes or until brown and puffy.

BOCCALA: Stores catering to Italians or Scandinavians carry whole dried codfish stacked in piles. The Italian name is boccala. It must be soaked for several hours and can be served in many delicious sauces or just boiled with butter. Try serving tiny strips on toothpicks. Cheap, elegant, appetite-provoking.

Codfish a la Halifax

2 cups cream sauce
1 cup dried codfish
1 tbsp. chopped fresh pepper
1 tbsp. chopped parsley
2 hard-boiled eggs (sliced)

Served with rice or mashed potatoes.

CODFISH A LA FRANKLIN: Allow half a big baked potato per person. When baked, cut the potato in half the long way Pinch out the potato and mash with plenty of margarine. Build up a nest of potato in the shell; put in a couple of tablespoons of creamed codfish; cover with a raw egg; sprinkle lavishly with paprika and put in oven until egg is just cooked. Serve with:

Tomatoes a la Bonhomme Richard

1 small onion
1 tbsp. chopped fresh pepper
No. 2 can tomatoes
½ cup bread crumbs

Saute onion and pepper till light brown. Pour tomatoes into pan and add crumbs. Cook five minutes.

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